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CONVERSATIONS,
DISCUSSIONS AND ANECDOTES
OF
THOMAS STORY.

COMPILED BY
NATHL. RICHARDSON.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE conversations related in the ensuing pages, transpired near a century and a half ago. But the subjects of which they treat have not grown old with time, nor has the light then shed upon them faded with the roll of years.

The powers of intellect, the clearness and cogency of argument here exhibited, have rarely been surpassed, and have lost none of their original vigor or of their genuine merit by the lapse of years. Time writes no wrinkles on the brow of religious principles, nor have the errors here combated become by age less injurious to the welfare of the present, than they were to a former generation.

The work therefore, has the freshness, the interest, and the practical utility, of a work of yesterday, and will, perhaps, be even more acceptable to the reader, from being clothed in the strong, direct, yet classic language of a bygone age.

Thomas Story was educated in the way of the National Church, and was trained in the fashionable accomplishments of an English gentleman of that period. He speaks of his acknowledged proficiency in the sword exercise, and of devoting some attention to music. A writer says of him: "He was a man of excellent understanding, and highly educated, and had particularly applied

part of his time to the study of Natural History and the physical nature of things."

At a proper age he was placed with a counsellor to study law, intending to enter one of the Inns of Court to finish; but his sense of religious duty turned him from this course, and joining, from conviction, with the people called Quakers, he became a minister among them and to multitudes of others, of the gospel of Christ.

He travelled extensively in Europe and America in the prosecution of this, as he believed, divine mission, and underwent many hardships, dangers, and privations. In one of his many voyages he was captured by a French privateer, and was for a time detained a prisoner at a French port.

But his abilities and excellencies as a minister, were not all that rendered him conspicuous; whilst in America, having finished a religious engagement, he was solicited by William Penn to remain and take some charge of his affairs in Pennsylvania, and yielding his consent, he was appointed Keeper of the Seal, Master of the Rolls, a member of the Council, and was the first Recorder of the city of Philadelphia, named as such in the first city charter, 1701.

In 1706 he married Anne, daughter of Edward Shippen, mayor of Philadelphia; this marriage connection continued about six years, she dying in 1712. In 1706 he was chosen mayor of Philadelphia, but declining to serve was fined £20 by the common council. But beside his assiduous attention to the duties of the several offices which he did accept, he appears to have led a life of great activity, being almost constantly engaged in religious services of an arduous character.

The business which he followed for a maintenance both in England and in America was that of a scrivener, and he appears to have acquired considerable property in this way and by marriage; after his father's death he came into possession of the paternal estate at Justice Town, England, and although it can

hardly be said that he made it his home (so much was he absent) yet he took much pleasure in tree planting, as an example, as he says, to the neighboring proprietors, having planted out many thousand trees collected from different parts of the world, but chiefly from America. He died in 1742 of paralysis, aged about seventy-five years.

“Many witnesses remain,” says a cotemporary, “even all who were acquainted with him, of his high value and merit as a glorious instrument in the Divine hand.”

He left in his own handwriting a voluminous account of his life and travels. And in his will gave directions for its publication, at the expense of the residue of his estate, real and personal, to be bestowed upon the public as the author’s legacy.

These munificent intentions were nobly carried out by his trustees, who within five years after his decease, “printed a certain number of copies of the said journal” in large folio of near eight hundred pages.

The copy from which these extracts have been taken is in paper, typography, and binding, a fine specimen of art. The number of copies thus issued is nowhere stated, nor is any intimation given of the amount of the residue of the estate; both matters of some interest to those who read the work.

In reading the conversations and discussions (some of them of great length), it will scarcely be supposed that the author’s memory could possibly recollect the whole as it is here related, yet as he could be at no loss as to the full purport of what had passed on these occasions, and had a clear conception in his own mind of the arguments involved, there could be no great difficulty in his giving a truthful portrait of the discussion. The author has himself signified that in writing them out, he has in some instances amplified the argument and extended the quotations. By such means, however, the value of these productions is enhanced, as being, by so much the more, a complete exposition of the several subjects of which they treat.

As to the temper, object, and manner of the author in conducting controversy, the reader is particularly referred to the following statement taken from his journal:—

“Divers disputes I have had with many in other parts of the world; but never began any controversy, being always on the defensive side, and rarely entered upon any point in question, with any sect, till I knew the Divine truth over all in my own mind and my will subjected by it. And my next care usually was, not to provoke my opponent, for by keeping him calm I had his own understanding, and the measure of grace in him, for truth and my point, against the error he contended for; And my chief aim generally hath been to gain upon people’s understanding for their own good. But where a man is put in a passion, he may be confounded, but not convinced.

“And this has also taught me to be totally silent, and sometimes even insulted by ignorants as if I had nothing to say; till the power and virtue of Truth hath arisen in my mind, and then it hath never failed, by its own light and evidence, to support its own cause, and justify me.”

NATHL. RICHARDSON.

BYBERRY, Philadelphia, 8 mo. 6th, 1860.

CHAPTER I.

A DINNER PARTY AT CARLISLE, ENGLAND.

—
1688.
—

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

A SOLID consideration of the state of affairs, the doubtfulness and hazard of the issue, put me upon a more inward and close observation of persons and things than ever. And one day at the Assizes of Carlisle, dining at an inn with a mixed company, where happened to be two of our ministers of the Church of England, a Popish gentleman moved a debate concerning Transubstantiation, pretending to prove by Scripture, that by virtue of certain words which their priests say over a piece of bread or wafer, there is a substantial conversion of it into the real body of Christ, the very same that was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified at Jerusalem, and now glorified in Heaven.

The text of Scripture he advanced to support this petition, was, "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." And his argument was only this, that Christ, being the word of God, and the truth, whatever he said must be positively and literally true; and therefore there is a real change of the bread into the true and real body of Christ. And this being an ordinance of God to his ministers, the same power is annexed to that ordinance; since, at the same time, he commanded them to do the same, saying, "This do in remembrance of me."

During this uninterrupted discourse, my zeal was kindled, so that I could scarce contain it. But being young, and diffident of my own abilities, and paying regard and preference to our two ministers present, and expecting their appearance against so great an error, and so opposite to the Protestant religion, I delayed till it became almost unseasonable to engage him. But they minding their plates, and hanging down their heads, with their countenances veiled by their hats, and I seeing no sign of any answer from them to the Papist, I took him up upon the subject thus :

“ Sir, you of the Church of Rome take these words literally, but we take the whole form of his speech at that time, on that subject, to be figurative ; and that these words, ‘ This is my body,’ intended no more than, This bread is a symbol, or figure, or representation of my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you. For we ought not to divide the sentence or speech of Christ, and take one part literally and another figuratively. And you may remember that, at the same time, he also took the cup, saying, ‘ This cup is the New Testament, in my blood, which is shed for you.’ Do you think that that cup, whether of gold, silver, glass, or wood, was the New Testament ? Or can’t you see that in this latter part of his speech there is a double figure ? First, Metonymia, *subjecti pro adjuncto*, the thing containing for the thing contained ; and secondly, the wine in the cup, exhibited, under the word cup, as a figure or representation of his blood, which was not then actually or literally shed, or his body broken. And seeing he said in the present tense, ‘ This is my body which is broken (not to be broken) for you,’ ‘ and this cup is the New Testament, in my blood, which is (not which shall hereafter be) shed for you,’ you must either own that Christ advanced a false proposition, which you will not ; or that he spake figuratively in both sentences, which you cannot reasonably avoid. Besides, the words uttered by Christ himself did not work that effect you imagine ; for no man can call a thing by any name, denoting its existence, before it is that thing which it is called ; (then taking up a plate) no man, for

instance, can truly and literally say this is a plate if it were not a plate before. Then, by a parity of reason and truth, Christ could not say, this bread is my body, if it were not his body before; therefore these words made no alteration, for, if it was so before, these words were only declarative of what was before, and not initiatory or commencing of a new being which was not there before. And again, if ever these words had effected a transubstantiation, they would when Christ himself uttered them. Consider, then, pray, that as soon as Christ began to speak those words, 'This is my body,' the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, began to cease to be his body, and the bread began to convert into it; and that as soon as the words were finished, the body born of the Virgin altogether ceased to be what it was before, and, by a new way of corporeal transmigration, insinuated itself into the bread, which, by the same degrees that the body of Christ ceased to be his body, commenced, proceeded, grew, and became his body; or else he had two bodies present with his disciples at the same time; and if they eat his body that evening, what body was that which was crucified the next day? and what blood then shed, if, the night before, the disciples had drank the blood of Jesus in a proper and literal sense and without a figure? And where now is that same cup? If you have lost that, you have, in your own sense, lost the New Testament and all your share therein.

"Now, sir, if you can persuade me and this company out of our senses and understandings, so as that we may be able to believe against both, that a piece of bread is the body of Christ, and a cup of wine is his blood, then you may bid fair for our conversion, or rather perversion, to your religion. But till you can do that, you cannot reasonably expect we should embrace so great absurdities."

Upon this several of the company laughed; and the Papist said these were great mysteries, and the subject copious and intricate, and could not at that time be fully prosecuted, but might be more largely discussed at some other convenient opportunity.

I replied: "Then why did you move it? Could you think we would all sit silent, to hear you propagate such notions, and make no opposition?" And so the matter dropped; but though I had thus opposed him, he showed more respect to me afterwards than to any other of the company.

Dinner being over, our ministers retired into another room, and I went to them, where, with much seeming respect, they addressed themselves to me after this manner:—"We are very glad you have had so much to say in defence of our religion, and that you managed the debate so that he got no advantage, nor could maintain his point."

But I, being still under the grief and shame, as well as resentment of their temporizing, cowardice, and negligence, quickly returned thus:—"And I, gentlemen, am very much grieved and ashamed to find that you had nothing at all to say in defence of it, which I very much wondered at, for I so long expected one of you would have engaged the gentleman, that it was almost unseasonable to make any answer."

CHAPTER II.

DR. GILPIN, OF SCALEBY CASTLE, ENGLAND.

1691.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

DR. GILPIN sent his son, a counsellor, under whom I had been initiated into the study of the law, and who still retained a great affection for me, to invite me to his house at Scaleby Castle, and desired to see some of the Quakers' books, supposing I had been imposed upon by reading them; and I sent him, as I remember, all that I had.

Soon after I had parted with these books, I observed a cloud come over my mind, and an unusual concern ; and therein the two Sacraments (commonly so termed) came afresh into my remembrance, and divers Scriptures and arguments, pro and con ; and then I was apprehensive the doctor was preparing something of that sort to discourse me upon ; and I began to search out some Scriptures in defence of my own sentiments on those subjects. But as I proceeded a little in that work, I became more uneasy and clouded, upon which I laid aside the Scriptures and sat still, looking toward the Lord for counsel. For I considered the doctor as a man of great learning, religious in his way, an ancient preacher and writer too, famous in Oliver's time, and a throne among his brethren, and that he might advance such subtilties as I could not readily confute, nor would concede to as knowing them erroneous, though I might not suddenly be furnished with arguments to demonstrate their fallacy ; and so might receive hurt.

And then it was clear in my understanding, that, as he was in his own will and strength, though with a good intent, in his own sense searching the letter, and depending upon that and his own wisdom, acquirements, and subtilty, leaning to his own spirit and understanding, I must decline that way, and trust in the Spirit of Christ, the Divine Author of the Holy Scriptures. And as this caution was presented in the life and virtue of truth, I rested satisfied therein, and searched no further on that occasion. When I went to his house, he entered into a discourse on those subjects, and had such passages of Scripture folded down as he purposed to use ; and when I observed it, I was confirmed that my sight of him, in my own chamber at Carlisle, and of his work, some days before, was right ; and my mind was strengthened thereby. But before he began to move upon the subject, he dismissed every other person out of the room, so that himself and I remained alone.

The first thing he said was, in a calm manner, to admonish me to be very cautious how I espoused the errors of the Quakers, for he had heard of late, and with concern, that I had been among them, or seemed to incline that way. I

answered that I had not been much among them, nor seen any of their books but those I had sent him, and knew not of any errors they held. Yes, said he, they deny the ordinances of Christ, the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and then opened his book, at one of his down-folded leaves, where he read thus :—"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints." 1 Cor. i. 2.

And at another folded down part he read thus :—"For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner, also, he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as you drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

Upon these Scriptures he raised this argument. That though the Corinthians at that time were sanctified in Christ, and called to be saints, yet they still needed this ordinance, and were to continue in it, according to the apostle's doctrine, till the coming of Christ, at the end of the world. And he did not think the Quakers more holy or perfect Christians than the Corinthians at that time; and consequently that no state in this life can render that ordinance needless to them, or overgrow it.

To this I replied, that though some of those Corinthians had obeyed the call of God, and were at that time sanctified by faith in Christ, yet others of them had not obeyed the call, but were remaining in gross sins and pollutions. But as they had been heathens, and convinced by the ministry of that apostle, as appears by the beginning of the second and fifteenth chapters of that epistle, he had first of all preached to them Christ's coming in the flesh among the Jews, his life, miracles, doctrines, death for our sins, and resurrection from the dead, as

saving truths, but does not so much as mention this supposed ordinance among them. But considering their weak and carnal state, and incapacity then to reach the knowledge of Divine mysteries, the apostle had, in their initiation into the Christian religion, related to them the sayings of Christ on that subject; and they had been in the practice, or rather abuse of it, till the time of the writing of that epistle. Yet if the words of that epistle, in that place, be carefully and impartially observed, without prepossession or prejudice, and compared with other Scriptures, it will appear that there is not any positive command for it at all, much less is it made a standing ordinance, but left to the option and discretion of his disciples, to whom it was first mentioned how often they should do it, and, consequently, also how long they should continue it, as appears by the same text now adduced; viz., "This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me."

But, to set this matter in a clearer light, it is well known that, at the time of the redemption of the Jews from their Egyptian slavery, the Passover with the Paschal Lamb was instituted as a standing ordinance, in commemoration of it, until Christ, the Lamb of God, and antitype of that figure, should come. But as Israel, offending the Lord, was afterward sent into captivity under the Babylonians, they could not, in that state and under that government, celebrate it in form; and therefore they invented another way to keep that great deliverance in memory, which was this:

The father, or chief of the family, at the proper time of the Paschal Supper, took bread and blessed it, saying: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who gives us the fruit of the earth;" then, dividing it among the company, in like manner also he took the cup, and, blessing it, said: "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who gives us the fruit of the vine." This they did in a solemn manner, remembering their Egyptian slavery and deliverance, lamenting their present state, acknowledging their sins, and the justice of God in their punishment, and hopes of his mercy from his former kind dealings and gracious promises.

The Jews, being then initiated into this practice, upon so solemn an occasion, as the Lord's being pleased to remember them with redemption a second time, the succeeding generations continued it, as incident to the Passover, until the Lord Christ, the antitype (as well of the Paschal Lamb as of the bread and wine), did come, who, when he appeared, was declared by John the Baptist to be "The Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" and he declared himself to be "the bread of life, the living bread which came down from Heaven;" proclaiming also, and that very emphatically, that his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed; that, except they ate his flesh and drank his blood, they had no life in them. And all this was meant of the Spirit of Christ, and not of his flesh. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

The time drawing near when the Lamb of God was to be slain, and offered as a sacrifice, declaring the mercy of God the Father, who sent him in love to the whole world, he then said to his disciples: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." And at the time of it, as father and chief of his flock and family, he celebrated the Passover in form, with this difference only, that whereas the Jews, until that time, in the celebration of it, had looked back to the type and outward deliverance from Egypt, the Lord now directs them to himself as the antitype of all figures; and tells them he would not any more eat thereof (the Passover) until it should "be fulfilled in the kingdom of God," nor drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day "when he should drink it new with them in his Father's kingdom." Which eating and drinking, in the kingdom of God, cannot relate to material bread and wine, which can only be exhibited as symbols of the outward body of Christ, and the blood of that holy body, which to be eat and drank in a natural sense profiteth nothing, but to the all-quickening virtue and power of his holy spirit, which is all in all, and true feeding to the commonwealth of the whole Israel of God. And therefore this Passover, or any part or relative to it, whether bread, wine, or any other matter

in it, could be of no further use or obligation to the disciples of Christ, than till they should experience in themselves his divine and spiritual appearance and coming in them, and to be the same to their souls or minds which natural food and drink is to the body—its support, strength, nourishment, and means of duration. Which divine coming of Christ as such, can mean no other than his being made manifest in a spiritual administration; for, as he is that eternal spirit of essential Truth, and Word, Wisdom and Power of God, it is not strictly proper to say of him (in that sense) that he shall come or go anywhere, but to be made manifest; for, as such, he ever was, is, and will be omnipresent, and never absent from any place or time.

His coming, then, must intend his powerful manifestation where he already is, and not a locomotive coming from where he is, to any other place where he was not before, “for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him.” 2 Chron. ii. 6.

Seeing, then, that this was only the Passover, and the terms of the application of it to himself, not institutive of any new command or ordinance, but a liberty to do or not to do it, at discretion, “This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me,” laid no obligation on them to do it any more at all, it being ended by the manifestation of its antitype; and in the nature of things, could be of no farther obligation or reasonable use; when Christ himself was witnessed in them to be that eternal, everlasting, never-failing divine substance.

But the Apostle Paul, whose concern for the Jews, and zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to whom in an especial manner he was sent, engaged him to become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some, recommended to the Corinthians the practice of the Passover with the new application of it to Christ, at the time of their first believing in him by that apostle's ministry, that being yet carnally minded, they might have an outward communion, till the true communion should be made known, which their state, at that time, could not bear. As, in point of prudence only, he prac-

tised some other legal rites, at some times, which in his doctrines, he condemned at other times, where the state of the people was able to bear it.

And it is much more likely, considering the nature and end of the Gospel, and its excellency above the Law, and all legal and typical rites, as substances excel shadows; that the apostle, observing how much some of the Corinthians had abused the Passover in practice, and their very carnal state under it, was rather by that epistle endeavoring to supersede it, and bring them off to the living substance, where he saith to such among them as were already sanctified, and to whom he inscribed his epistle, "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say, the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? for we being many, are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread."

It is plain, therefore, that the communion of the sanctified and wise in Corinth, stood not in the bread which perisheth, nor in the wine of the grape, which some of the Corinthians were carnally abusing, but in the quickening spirit and power of Christ, the true living, life-giving, and life-preserving bread, which daily comes from heaven, into all the sanctified and saved of the Lord.

This is that spirit that quickens and preserves to life eternal, the flesh profiteth nothing, and since it is so, much less does any symbol of the flesh profit, but the divine substance only. This is that substance of which the apostle draws the comparison, "we being many are one bread." For as wheat consists of many particular grains, each containing a distinct principle of life after its kind, and all of the same nature, which being broken, and rightly prepared and ordered by the good husbandman, become one bread; even so is the church of Christ, every member in his natural state, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance and darkness that was in him, and separated also one from another, as without a proper medium and condition of union, but being ordered and prepared by the Father of mercies, through Christ his eternal

Word, they become one body and one spirit, the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all.

The substance of this was what I observed to the doctor, though I have in this place expatiated somewhat further on the subject, and generally applied the Scriptures; to which he made little other reply than by telling me, in a very calm and familiar manner, that as he had always believed it to be an ordinance of Christ, he had solemnly used it as such, and found comfort in it.

To which I returned, that I did not doubt but that he might have some satisfaction in it, since he believed it a remaining ordinance, and did it under that apprehension; whosoever in his heart believes anything to be a standing duty in the Church of Christ, which ever had any countenance in it by practice, and performs it faithfully, according to his belief and understanding, may find a satisfaction in it.

But since God in mercy is pleased to afford the living substance without the use of those means, which are supposed to lead to an end already attained, they can be no more a duty to such. And that is the real case among the true Quakers, who love and fear the Lord sincerely.

As to the other point, viz., baptism, he said but little about it, for he knew very well that in strictness they were not so much as in the form of water baptism. And I only asked him this question, Whether he did believe it necessary to salvation? He answered, that he did not think it absolutely necessary. Then, said I, we shall not need to say any more about it, and so the whole matter ended as to these points.

Then he said something concerning the books I had sent him, speaking slightly of them; but thought that about prayer, writ (I think) by George Keith, the best; and said, that seeing the Quakers pretended that they did not know before they went to meetings whether they should preach or pray, or what way in either, and yet travelled in strange places, how could they speak to the states of the people, or be joined with in prayer?

To this I answered, that such as went to a meeting empty of

all things, and waited upon God, were filled with His holy Spirit, who knows all states at all times and places; and if the preacher attend to Him, as he ought, and delivers those matters opened to him at the time, the Lord both gives the word and makes the application to every state, in every particular person, which no preacher, or instrument, of himself is able to do.

And as to joining in prayer: all right prayer is by the aid of the Spirit of Christ, the Mediator between God and man, which, in that respect, is called the spirit of prayer and of supplication, and as such is promised of the Father to the Church, and received by her; and her unity in prayer stands not so much in the form of words, though sound and pertinent, as in the nature, virtue, and influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, her holy head, life, lawgiver, and comforter.

The doctor did not oppose this; but only said, I had given him better satisfaction in that point than he had found in the book, and afterward he was much more free and familiar with me than before, or than I expected, and so we parted in friendship, and I returned in peace and gladness.

CHAPTER III.

A PREJUDICED PRIEST.

1691.

THE RESURRECTION.

I HAD no more dislike to priests than to others, as men, yet when any of them and I happened to come into the same company, or place, they usually fell into some visible disorder and uneasiness, though I said nothing to occasion it, which I took therefore to arise from a prepossession, and general prejudice and enmity against Friends, supposing them enemies to their persons as to their errors. And particularly one of them coming occasionally into a place where I was, all of a sudden, and in a confused manner, without any occasion given to lead to it, cried out, "You deny the Resurrection!" I replied, that he had not heard me say anything on that subject. "Then," said he, "the people you have joined yourself to deny it." I replied, I did not understand they denied the resurrection, and that Christ, to prove the resurrection, adduced that scripture where it is written, "But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have you not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If, then, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had attained the resurrection from the dead, in Christ's sense of the resurrection, and yet the bodies of those saints then remained in the earth, something else must be meant by the resurrection of the dead than terrene bodies.

Then said the priest, "I believe that Abraham, &c., did arise, not only to a state of righteousness in this life, but also

to a state of glory in heaven after his death." Then said I, "Since he attained a first and second resurrection, he completed that state without the resurrection of this earthly body, for of a third resurrection we read not, and of a second by implication only." And so the matter ended.

CHAPTER IV.

DINING ON A TITHE GOOSE.

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1691.
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MAINTENANCE OF MINISTERS.

My eldest brother, being priest of the parish, and likewise Dean of Conner (afterward of Limerick), in Ireland, had one of the Scots Episcopal priests for his curate (or journeyman), who had been turned out at the establishment of presbytery as the national way in Scotland. And this priest being poor, my father took him into his house for his better accommodation; which proved some occasional exercise to me, we being so very different in our sentiments in some things relating to religion. And one day, there being a goose on the table at dinner, he intending to disappoint me of a part, whispered to me so loud as all about the table heard him, "This is a tithe goose;" and then fleered. I replied, "Let him look to the evil of that to whom it is tithe; but to me it is no tithe, but a goose only; and, with my father's leave, I will take a share." And after this we had much dispute about the maintenance of the ministers of Christ. I alleged, that when Christ sent out his disciples to preach to the people, he said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and did not allow them either

gold, silver, nor brass in their purses, nor scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staffs, but to depend on divine Providence only for their subsistence; eating such things as should be set before them, for the workman is worthy of his meat.

To this he answered, that Christ and his apostles received money for preaching, otherwise where did they get the money they had in the bag; for they were poor men, and had nothing to give, or any other way to procure money. Upon this I asked him, whence that money came that Christ sent Peter to take out of the mouth of the fish? Had he not command over all things to have what he pleased? But you priests, to justify yourselves in your anti-Christian practices, dare accuse Christ himself and his apostles, of your own crimes. He and they preached not for hire, not for filthy lucre and maintenance, but for the help and salvation of men; and as there is nothing needful to the laborer in that work but the present subsistence of food and raiment, with that they were to be content: and as to what money they had, it arose from the superabounding love of those who heard him and them, and believed; which they did not hoard up and detain to their own use only, but also gave to the poor as they had occasion: so far were they from sitting down in corners, and forcing maintenance, even to luxury, from those who did not receive them, as you priests do at this day: by which it appears you are none of his, but rather like Judas, the traitor, who carried the bag, loved money better than him, and was a thief. At this he became a little ashamed, and, in an abject manner said, "What I have for my preaching, is but a small matter:" as if the diminutive pay and poverty should excuse the error; and so it ended.

At another time, my father had a mind to discourse me on that subject; and, after he had moved it, I desired leave to ask him a question before I entered the dispute with him: he granted it; and then I asked him, "if it were not for his reputation among men, and the law of the land, would he himself pay any tithe?" Upon this he was silent a little, and then replied, with an oath, that if it were not for the laws he

would pay no more tithe than myself: then, said I, there is no need of any further dispute—and it ended thus, for he never offered any argument about it.

CHAPTER V.

JOHN KERR.

—
1692.
—

FREEDOM FROM SIN.

A DISCOURSE happened between John Kerr, and a friend, who was a citizen, concerning freedom from sin in this life; which John Kerr asserted could not be; and brought this passage out of the Epistle to the Romans, which he thought proved it, viz., “For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do,” and divers parts of the same chapter throughout. I, being at the other end of the table, and hearing them, and observing where the priest erred, a concern came upon me to take up the argument, and to endeavor to inform him better; and I said that the apostle in that Epistle in the first place proved, that both Jews and Gentiles were under sin, the former as well as the latter, notwithstanding the law and ordinances of God delivered to them, which they had not kept: and that both had redemption through faith in the Lord Christ; by whom they were made free from sin even in this life (which the law could not effect), as appears by these words: “Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more. Death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our

Lord," &c. The apostle here, taking the comparison from the certainty of the death and resurrection of Christ, infers likewise as great certainty of their being, in this life, through him, raised unto newness of life; which he corroborates in the 18th verse of the same chapter, saying, "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness:" and in the 22d verse confirms it further, "But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruits unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." Where it is apparent that the apostle makes the service of God and sin inconsistent, and altogether incompatible; but, resuming the same doctrine, under another similitude, in the 7th chapter, he there personates the state of the Jews, and of himself, whilst only under the law, and without the knowledge of Christ, and not that state that he (or the adult in the Church) was in, as an apostle and Christian, at the time of writing that epistle; which states are so different that it is impossible the apostle could be in both in so short a time, as between writing part of the 7th chapter, and the beginning of the 8th, which might be less than half an hour; for in the 24th verse of the 7th chapter, summing up all the weaknesses under the law in a few words, he cries out, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" and immediately answers his own question, I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord; and then continues to assert the Christian freedom, and saith, "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death," &c.

Thus it appears that the Apostle Paul was not under the body of sin and death, at the time when he wrote that epistle; but was only recounting the various states, both of himself and others, under the law of Moses, and after the law of life and liberty from sin was come by the Son of God, and fulfilled by him in this apostle, as also in the adult in the congregation of Christ.

Upon this the said John Kerr freely acknowledged, before the company, that he had all along mistaken that Scripture, and that we understood it right.

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM FALCONER'S.

—
1692.
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DIVISIONS AMONG THE (SO CALLED) CHRISTIANS.

ROBERT GERARD and I went to Forress, and finding a concern come upon me, I went to the house of William Falconer (the priest), and Robert Gerard with me; and there was one that was steward to a nobleman with him, and some others beside his own family. He seemed to receive us with respect; nevertheless, in a short time, there appeared a cloud of darkness. But I sat quiet and inward a little, and the truth arose as a standard against it, and the opposing darkness vanished, and truth reigned in me alone, and then I began to speak concerning the many divisions in the pretended Christian world, happening upon the pouring forth of the seventh phial by the Angel of God, mentioned in the book of the Revelation of John. That the pretended Christian Church, with all her various false notions, opinions, and doctrines, is that Babylon. That her three great divisions are the Papacy, the Prelacy, and the Presbytery, with their several subdivisions and confusions; who, being departed from the Spirit of Christ, the Prince of Peace, into the spirit of envy and persecution; were now, and from the time of that phial, warring and destroying each other, contrary both to the nature and

end of that religion they profess—which is Love. I was answered, “That the Bishop of Rome, under pretence of being the successor of Peter, and as such, infallible, hath usurped a dictatorship over the Christian world, in matters of religion; and imposed a multitude of anti-Christian errors, by unreasonable force, upon mankind: but God having committed his whole will unto writing in the Holy Scriptures, and in the course of his Providence, preserved them unto us, we have our whole duty declared therein, as our rule and guide in matters of religion; so that we are not to expect the manifestations of the Spirit, as in times past, that dispensation being now ceased.”

I replied, “That what he said of the Bishop of Rome was true; and that the Scriptures are the most excellent books extant; which were given from time to time, by the word of the Lord, which is the Spirit of Christ: but men may read and speak the truths contained in the Scriptures one to another, and the readers and speakers remain still ignorant of the word of the Lord, and of the things themselves intended to be signified by the words; and not being sent of God (as the Scriptures send no man) cannot profit the hearers, but are themselves transgressors in so doing, unless they were sent by the influence, power, and virtue of the same word that did dictate the matters of the Scriptures unto the holy penmen thereof; as appears by the 23d chapter of the prophecy of Jeremiah;” and then I called for a Bible, and read: “The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully: What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord? Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces? Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words every one from his neighbor. Behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues and say, He saith: yet I sent them not, nor commanded them; therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the Lord.” So that it is contrary to the declared mind of God, that any should use his words to others, as his

ministers, who are not sent by himself so to do; for though they have been his words unto others, those who use them without his command, are charged by him as thieves; especially such as make merchandise of them to the people.

As to the dispensation of the Spirit being now ceased, I am sorry to hear it is so; for I can show thee to whom it is so ceased, but not to the Church of Christ. Then I turned to the 3d chapter of the prophecy of Micah, and read: "Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel, is it not for you to know judgment? Who hate the good, and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flea their skin from off them: and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron. Then shall they cry unto the Lord, but he will not hear them; he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings."

Here it appears, that for the ignorance, cruelty, and injustice of the princes, or heads of the people, the Lord would not hear or regard them. As again, in the 9th verse, the Lord resumes his charge against the great men in that day: "They abhorred judgment, and perverted all equity: They built up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity: The heads of that people judged for reward, their priests taught for hire, and their prophets divined for money; yet they pretended to lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? No evil can come upon us." But the Lord was not to be mocked by such; his just judgments were denounced against them. "Therefore shall Zion, for your sakes, be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house, as the high places of the forest." This was fulfilled upon them, and remains over them, as a monument of the justice of God, unto this day. The charge of the Lord, and his judgments against the prophets, I left to the last, viz.: "They made the people err; they bit with their teeth, and (yet) cried peace; and he that put not into

their mouths, they even prepared war against him : Therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision ; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine ; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded ; yea, they shall cover their lips, for there is no answer of God."

Now as to these Scriptures, said I, like sin, like judgment. All these three divisions of the pretended Christian Church, falling into the sins of the old heathens, are become hateful, and hating one another ; and, through that hatred, have persecuted and destroyed each other, when and wherever they have had power. And all these, in their turns (having deceived and subjected the temporal powers), have persecuted and destroyed the Church of Christ among them. They have hated the good, and loved the evil : They have exercised such cruelties upon the innocent and just, as are here figuratively termed plucking off their skin and their flesh, and the breaking of their bones, and the like.

The priests of every form have fleeced the people and the Church of Christ, which they have not fed ; they have made laws, by their own power, against them, and thereby made war against such as would not gratify their covetousness ; they have worried them, as with their teeth, and yet cried up the peace of the Gospel in words ; they have built and propagated their several sects and parties with the blood of others, and of the saints of God ; and have filled their sanctuaries with evil doing and fraud. Their heads, who lord over them, have exercised their offices for gain and pay ; their priests teach for hire, their prophets divine for money ; yet they pretend the Lord is with them in their various and opposite ways, and that no evil can come upon them. And yet, though the day of the Gospel of Christ be dawned upon his Church, and the Sun of righteousness be arisen and shining in her ; yet the night of apostacy and mist of thick darkness and ignorance is over these : They have no vision of God ; they cannot divine ; the sun is set unto them, and the day is dark over them : for

the light thereof they despise and hate, because they are evil-doers, and to them there is no answer of God, who is that Spirit, and speaks no more unto them, but by the letter which killeth, and of which they make a trade and gain.

But the Church of Christ here speaketh another language ; she bears another, a true testimony to the true God. But truly I am full of power, by the spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgressions, and unto Israel his sin.

Here it is apparent from whom the Spirit of the Lord is departed, and to whom he is not now revealed, and in whom he does not reside ; that is Mystery Babylon, with all her divisions, subdivisions, and members, everywhere, and under whatsoever name. But God is with his people still, as in former times, according to the promise of the Son : " If a man love me, he will keep my words ; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

The auditory heard what was said with patience, and none made any answer but the priest ; and all that he said was (and that a little pleasantly), " Such as you going about with such chapters, may do much mischief." To whom I replied, that inasmuch as he was then silenced by the temporal powers that then were, he would do well never to look after that employment any more, or think to enrich himself thereby ; and the rather, since he had a competent estate independent of it ; which the Lord would bless to him and his family, if he disclaimed that ungodly practice of preaching for hire, and was silent in the things of God till the Lord should send him, if it might please him so to do.

The priest's wife seemed well pleased with what I said to him, and he made no reply : and so, a little after, we departed in peace, and in friendship with them, and went to our inn.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE KEITH.

1695.

THE ASCENSION.

As I was going one day to attend the Lord Chief Justice, in order to have a fine passed upon an estate offered in mortgage for security of a sum of money, there came to me, upon the pavement near the office, a man well dressed, and of grave behavior, desiring to have some conversation with me; in which I could not gratify him then, being instantly engaged in the business I went about; but when I had finished it, and was come out from the office, I found him waiting; and, advancing toward me, he began to discourse about George Keith, saying, "That we (meaning the body of Friends) had missed our way in contending with him as we did; for he, being a man of learning and knowledge, might have been very serviceable to our Society, in helping us over some mistakes we labored under."

I replied, that we were not under any mistake about the Christian faith or religion, or any part of it; and did not want instructions from George Keith, or any other like unto him, we being taught of the Lord, and by such as he raises, qualifies, and sends in his own name and power; and these we know, own, and receive, in the same love in which they are sent.

Then he moved one of George Keith's notions and subjects of debate, by way of question: "Whether we believe that Jesus Christ is now in Heaven in the same body in which he suffered on the cross on earth?" I replied, that we believe

all that the Holy Scriptures relate concerning the Lord and his body; that he ascended, until a cloud received him out of the sight of the witnesses who saw him ascend; but as to the identity, or sameness of his body, or the mode of its existence now in Heaven, as I do not remember that to be revealed in the Holy Scriptures, 'tis a little too presumptuous, I think, in George Keith, or any other, to take upon him to define or meddle with it; being a mystery of which he hath no knowledge or idea, nor could he transfer the true notion of it to the understanding or apprehension of any other person, if he had any such thing himself: therefore all he pretends to on that subject can be no other than an unprofitable dream of his own head, on a subject undeterminable by any mortal, tending only to strife and envy, as fully appears by his exercise therein, and its evil fruits of division and separation; and, if persisted in, would remain so to the end of the world; and is to be declined as a snare and temptation of the adversary, for mischief and destruction.

Then he urged, "That the body of Christ in Heaven must be a real body; and, if so, then material and circumscribed as all such bodies are, yet wonderfully glorified." I replied, this is like Satan disputing about the body of Moses. These words, "wonderfully glorified," exhibit nothing to the understanding; though I do not intend to enter into a disquisition concerning bodies material or immaterial; glorified or not glorified; circumscriptive or not so: but I remember what the Apostle Paul hath writ concerning the Lord Jesus in this point; viz., "In that he ascended, what is that but that he also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? he that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things: If then he filleth all things, how and by what is he circumscribed?"

To this he answered, "That his filling all things was spoken of him as he is God omnipresent, and not as man; who is, as such, not omnipresent, that being an attribute of the divine nature only."

I returned to this, that it could not be spoken of Christ as

he is God, because he who is omnipresent is so from all eternity, and at all times, and cannot properly be said to ascend or descend into any place; for that would imply his absence from those places to which he was said to ascend or descend; which, in the notion of it, would oppose the essential and necessary attribute of his divinity, and confound the rational consideration of it; so that the apostle's assertion here, I think, must refer to Christ in some other way than as he is the word of God.

Then said he, "These are secret and intricate things hard to be understood or defined; so that it may be proper to decline any farther procedure thereon at this time."

That I grant, said I; and it was not of my moving; nor did I engage in this discourse with any other view, but to demonstrate to thee how little good can be reaped, or expected, by contests on the subject, or by any of George Keith's notions, or of any others, about it. And so we parted in a friendly manner, after he had made himself known to me under the character of Doctor English, a Scotsman by nation, and a physician by profession.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

1696.

THE SACRAMENTS, WOMEN'S PREACHING, ETC.

I MADE a visit to the Countess of Carlisle, at Watford (intending to have seen the earl, but he was gone to London), and she received me in her closet with respect, none being present but Helen Fairley, who had been her gentlewoman; but having been lately convinced, another was then in her

place. The countess asked me divers questions concerning the way of truth, as professed by us; of the sacraments, commonly so called; of women's preaching; of our marriages, and of the grace of God, &c., to all which I answered in much plainness, and, I believe, to her satisfaction, viz :

As to the two sacraments; the National Church owns that a sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace; and if it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified. That grace, of which those symbols are called signs, hath appeared, and doth appear unto all men, as well where those signs are used as where they are not used or heard of; so that there can be no advantage in the use of such signs, but in that grace which, through Christ, is given of the Father unto all men, being a divine active principle and power, illuminating, instructing, and guiding the minds of all that believe therein into all truth necessary for the salvation of the soul. And the great God, Creator of heaven and earth, King of kings and Lord of lords, is no respecter of persons in his dispensations of grace to the children of men; but gives more or less, as it pleaseth him, but to every one that which is sufficient; and hath no regard or disregard therein to those distinctions, formed and imposed by mortals, one upon another, in this world; so that high and low, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, have all grace sufficient for their salvation, if they believe therein and obey; as it is written, "by grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." Yet you who are great in this world are in most danger, because of the cares, riches, pleasures, honors, and glory of it; for as the Most High regardeth none of these things, but considers you only as others of mankind, these high stations and circumstances delude your hearts by their glittering delights, and betray you into a forgetfulness of God your Creator, and a neglect of the gift of his grace which is in you, though the Lord is not a-wanting to you in his kind and merciful admonitions and reproofs in your own minds.

And though you are sometimes brought thereby into inward and deep considerations of your ways, your latter end, and a

future state, as others are; yet you are under the greater disadvantages through the eminence of your stations and circumstances in the world, being thereby placed out of the reach of the conversation and information of the true and sincere ministers of the Lord Jesus; who as they love you truly, through his grace, would deal plainly, yet discreetly and respectfully with you, for the sake and redemption of your precious souls, without any flattery, or mean, mercenary end, or other terrene view.

But it is lamentable to see and consider that when the grace of God, as it is the divine light of his presence, through the Lord Jesus Christ, letteth you see yourselves, and the errors of your ways; and brings remorse over you, and a secret humiliation and sadness into your minds, appearing sometimes in your aspects and behavior, when none of your pastimes, enjoyments, or diversions have any relish, or afford any satisfaction at all. Then (instead of the counsel and help of such as have known this word of reproof, and walked in the path of life eternal, to direct you in the way which leads to the kingdom of God, and to that eternal and unspeakable glory, the beatific vision of his countenance, which never ends, as all this world, and the glory and pleasures of it do, even in a moment, and are known no more), you have two sorts of men in particular near you, by whose ignorance, self-views, and flattery you are in more danger of everlasting ruin than those in lower stations: for, in the times of humiliation, when you are fittest for the teachings of God (as it is written, "the humble he will teach, and the meek he will guide in judgment"), then your priests say you are melancholy; a ball, or other unchristian-like diversion must be promoted, and your physicians must give physic to your bodies; when, alas! the sickness is in the soul, and they know it not, and can never be cured but by the physician of value, the High Priest of God and Saviour of the soul; who first slays in it the vain and sinful life of the world, in which all the evils thereof do dwell, and then breathes into it life eternal, the life of Jesus, the Son of God, who never fell.

As to women's preaching, it ought to be impartially observed that the difference of sexes consists altogether in various modifications of body and organical distinctions, and not in any diversity of faculties in the human soul; the intellectual powers being alike common to male and female, and the nature of the mind the same in both, and consequently susceptible of the like and same impressions and impulses. And accordingly the Almighty, pointing at the dispensation of the Gospel by Joel the prophet, saith, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." Again: "Upon the servants and upon the handmaids, in those days, will I pour out my Spirit." And by the word prophecy is understood, by all interpreters, preaching the Gospel. And this prophecy took place in the Church of Christ at the coming of the Holy Ghost (or Christ in spirit), at Jerusalem, at the time of Pentecost; where, if no woman spake (though we have no express account that any did), the Apostle Peter did not apply that text properly and without exception, which we are not to suppose. And though the Apostle Paul takes some exceptions, and that with sharpness, against some women as to that exercise in the Church, yet not against all; for himself declares how women, using that exercise, ought to be circumstanced; and recommends Phebe as a minister of the Church which was at Cenchrea; and Philip had four daughters, all preachers; and Priscilla, as well as Aquila her husband, was a preacher in the days of the apostles; and she, as well as he, instructed Apollos further in the way of Christ, though he had been a preacher before. I conclude, therefore, with truth, that women both may and ought to preach, under the Gospel dispensation, when the Spirit of the Lord is upon them, and thereunto called, and qualified thereby; and many such we have now among us, very acceptable in their ministry; so that we know by experience that they are sent of God, according to the various degrees of their gifts, as well as the men, and receive them accordingly in the Lord. She heard what I said with candor and patience, and I took leave of her with great satisfaction in my mind.

CHAPTER IX.

A FERRY-BOAT.

1696.

CHRISTIAN MANNERS, ETC.

ON the 1st day of the seventh month we went to Kinghorn, in order to pass over to Leith; where we found a ferry-boat ready to put off from the shore, in which were several passengers, and among the rest an Episcopal priest. And, as soon as he perceived what we were, he fell into a rage, and endeavored to keep us out of the vessel, and disappoint us of our passage; which he seemed more bold in, under the countenance of a young gentleman in the boat; who, by his appearance, seemed to be the priest's patron or benefactor. But I soon gave him to understand we were not to be imposed upon in that point; and insisting on our passage, required the boatman to take in our horses, and we stepped in after them; and then his spirit fell, when he saw our resolution and management, and that the gentleman did not oppose us: and the priest becoming more calm, so did the wind, which had retarded our passage: and, after awhile, perceiving the spirit of the man to be overcome and quieted, I spake to him concerning his passions, and enmity against us without any cause; putting him in mind how inconsistent such a behavior is with Christianity, of which I supposed him to be a professor, if not a professed teacher; and that religion requires all the professors of it to be kind to strangers; and that though he was equally a stranger to us, as we to him, yet since we were strangers in his native country, that character belonged more properly to us.

This calm reasoning with him, in the grace of God, had so good an effect, that he confessed his fault, and desired it might be passed by, which was freely granted; and then, as we stood together by the side of the vessel, he became very kind and familiar, and told me he was, by profession, an Episcopal minister, but displaced, and deprived of his living by the Presbyterians at the revolution. Then I informed him, that I had been of the same profession of religion; that my nearest relations were so still, and my elder brother a dean of the Episcopal Church; the manner of my own education, my leaving the profession of the law, as not consisting with the calling of God in the concern I was then about; and yet, casting myself on His providence, I wanted nothing.

After which I advised him that, since in the course of Providence, he was divested of his bread, in the way he had chosen for himself, he had best now to lean upon the arm of the Lord for his subsistence, in a way which might be shown him, in some honest employment, in case he should look no more back to his former course or dependence; and all I said he heard with temper, and said, he believed I wished him well therein. Then the young gentleman said, a little pleasantly, he himself had a mind to dispute with me on the subject of baptism. Then I said, before we begin the dispute, answer me one question: how many baptisms are there in use in the Christian religion? He answered, there are three. Then I told him he would make but a poor hand in the dispute, that had missed it so far in the entrance; for, whereas the Apostle Paul saith, "There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism," thou sayest there are three baptisms; and since thou opposest the apostle, thou art not fit to be disputed with about religion. And not being in earnest in what he had proposed, he only smiled, and dropped his pretension.

Then he addressed himself to the passengers, and said, concerning Friends, "they are a people who give no honor to any, nor seek any, and yet are honored of all; being admitted into the company and friendship of men of all stations and degrees without offence, because they make their plain be-

havior an incident of their religion, and badge of their profession; and their principles leading them to peace with all sorts, and against wars and fighting, whilst other professors destroy one another, and thereby lessen their numbers, this people are still increasing, by propagating their kind and their principles." This he spake pleasantly; and, not seeing need to reply, or make any observation upon it, I let it pass; and so all that looked like contest ceased, and they continued very sociable till we went on shore; and, when we were landed, they invited us to drink a glass of wine with them, but that we excused, and, parting with them in friendship, went forward to Edinburgh.

CHAPTER X.

SIR THOMAS LIDDEL, RAVENSWORTH CASTLE.

1696.

PROFESSION.

On the 12th, we went to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and being the seventh day of the week, we were at the meeting there the next day, and the Lord was with us; and also on the second day, at their monthly meeting: and Sir Thomas Liddel of Ravensworth Castle, Baronet, having taken notice of me on some account, at his house, before I frequented the meetings of Friends, and hearing of my present profession, and being a person of great civility and candor, he had desired John Fayrer, a Friend of Newcastle, to invite me to Ravensworth to dine with him, when at any time I might happen to come that way; which the Friend informing me of, I went accordingly, accompanied by him and another; and we were kindly

and respectfully received and entertained by Sir Thomas and his son, with whom we had much conversation, in a very friendly manner, till near night : and, among other things, he told us, "he had a great respect for us as a people, and liked our way, being sensible of that principle of divine light and truth we professed ; but he commonly went to the Presbyterian meeting : and then he asked me, "whether a man might not serve and worship God in his mind, among any sort of people, though he might differ from them in his sentiments in some points, and in his secret judgment, like the way of some other people better."

Thus, perceiving he was convinced of the way of truth in his understanding, and that he stumbled at the cross, and the meanness of the appearance of Friends, I answered, that the Lord Jesus Christ said, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him also will I deny before my Father and the holy angels ;" and the apostle also saith, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ;" and again, time was when the people and elect of God were intermixed, in outward situation, with the inhabitants of mystery Babylon, the anti-Christian Church, throughout the world, professing the name of the true God, and Jesus Christ, the son of God and Saviour of the world : but at length the voice of the angel of God was heard, saying, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues ;" and, upon the pouring out of the phial by the seventh angel, "the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell," &c., to which the beginning of the Reformation (commonly so called) by Martin Luther, John Calvin, and others, their contemporaries, may be reasonably compared ; since the supposed Christian world was thereupon, and soon after, divided into three general parts or heads, viz., Popery, Prelacy, and Presbytery ; differing in their several notions and communions, each from the other, but all of one persecuting spirit ; not only hating and destroying one another, being out of the peaceable Spirit of Christ, but also persecuting and de-

stroying all besides who dissent severally from them, wherever they have had power : and their respective successors, in the same spirit and notions, continue to do the same things, contrary both to the nature and end of the Christian faith and religion, which proclaims peace on earth and good-will towards all men.

But now, in these latter days, the voice of the angel of the right hand of the Majesty on high is uttered, and going over the nation and nations louder and louder ; and the elect of God have heard, and do hear it ; and many are gathered, and more are gathering into one body and one spirit : and it is not lawful for them to stay any longer where they have been, but to desert Babylon, the false church thus divided in itself, and which cannot stand, but must shortly fall, through the mighty word of God ; and Antichrist, who ruleth therein, shall be destroyed by the brightness of the coming and glory of the Son of God.

And as for us, who are at this day scornfully nicknamed Quakers by the children of Babel, it is remarkable that we became a people by the gathering arm of the Lord, by the convictions of his Holy Spirit, and the assent of the understanding to the testimony and baptism of one spirit, the spirit of Truth, and of Christ, which leadeth into all Truth ; and not by any notions, or faiths, or creeds, or articles contrived by the art and will of man ; or by any subscriptions, oaths, or agreements thereunto, and yet settled, as it were, at once in one uniformity of doctrine, principle, practice, and discipline ; which no other people ever did, so fully, since the days of the apostles of Christ.

They heard me with patience ; but what I said gave no countenance to the way in which this great and rich man had chosen to conceal himself, and his real sentiments, from the world : but I found it to be my place and duty to be plain with him, according to all that was presented in my mind on that occasion, that I might keep my own peace, which remained in me. He told me he had read some of William Penn's works, and would willingly ride a hundred miles to see him : and had

likewise read some of George Keith's books; and said, the former wrote in a free, open, natural, and flowing style, and gave him great satisfaction; but the books of the latter were more labored and artificial, and never afforded him any relish of sweetness, though the matter was, in itself true, and his reasoning often strong: but as he was fallen away from his principles, he was not to be regarded; though the truths he had writ, would remain in their own weight, whatever became of the author. And in the evening, when we inclined to return to Newcastle, he took his horse and accompanied us till we came near the town, and we parted in free and open friendship.

CHAPTER XI.

A STRANGER PRIEST.

1697.

BAPTISM.

CONTINUING in London, my elder brother, who was Dean of Limerick, in Ireland, desired my company in a visit to Robert Constable, a justice of the peace in Goodman's-Fields, and our near relation; and, when we came to his house, we met with his brother George, who was likewise a priest; and with him, another priest (a stranger to me), and some other company. This strange priest not knowing the relation among us, and looking upon me as a bird of a different feather, began to peck at me by several sour hints, which showed his dislike of my company; which, for conversation's sake, I passed by: but, my forbearance and silence encouraging him to be a little bolder, at length he moved a plain accusation, and said, "You deny the ordinances of Christ, water baptism and the Lord's supper."

I replied, Thou hast not heard me say anything on these subjects; how dost thou therefore know what I deny or affirm? Then said he, "I perceive you are one of that sect that does deny them." What authority hast thou, said I, for water baptism? He was ready with that much-mistaken text, Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing, &c. This, said I, was a commandment given by Christ to his apostles; but dost thou think this is a command to thee (for thou seemest to be a teacher of the people); hast thou any authority by this text? Upon this he hesitated a little, and the justice began to smile: the pause being over, the priest answered, Yes. Then said I,

How many nations hast thou travelled through in this work? how many taught and baptized? His countenance began a little to alter, and then he replied, "I have never been out of England." My next question was, How many counties of England hast thou travelled in this service? He answered, he had not travelled in any on that account. Then, said I, thou wicked and unfaithful servant, out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged. Thou hast here affirmed, before these witnesses, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath commanded and sent thee to teach and baptize all nations, and thou art set down in a corner, and hast not baptized any one: for thou must understand, Friend, that sprinkling an infant is no baptism, either in mode or subject. Upon this the counsellor laughed outright (for so he was as well as a justice), and the other priests smiled. Then said the justice, "Sir, this gentleman is my near relation, a cousin-german, you will get nothing by meddling with him on these subjects;" and so the matter dropped, and we entered on such matters as occurred, and more natural for conversation among relations and acquaintance.

CHAPTER XII.

CZAR OF MUSCOVY AND PRINCE MENZIKOFF, ETC.

1697.

FLATTERING TITLES AND TRIBUTE, ETC.

AT this time Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, being in London incog., and Gilbert Mollyson (Robert Barclay's wife's brother) having heard that a kinsman of his was in the czar's service, and, being desirous to increase the knowledge of the

Truth, requested me to go with him, in quest of his kinsman, to the czar's residence, a large house at the bottom of York-Buildings, in order to present him with some of Robert Barclay's Apologies, in Latin; hoping that, by that means, they might fall under the czar's notice, and be subservient to the end proposed. And accordingly, we went one morning; and when we came to the place, Gilbert inquired of the porter after his cousin; but could not hear anything of him in the lower apartments, but was desired to stay till further inquiry was made in the house; and a servant went up-stairs to that end, and, when returned, invited us up.

The head of the staircase, on the first floor, brought us to the entrance of a long passage, which went through the middle of the house, and there stood a single man at a large window, at the further end next the river Thames, to whom we were directed for intelligence: and, as we passed along, we observed two tall men walking in a large room on the right hand; but we did not stop to look at them, only transiently as we moved; for supposing one of them to be the czar, of whom I had heard that he was not willing to be looked upon, and careful not to offend him, we behaved with caution, and went directly to the person standing at the window, of whom Gilbert Mollyson inquired after his kinsman; and he told us, that such a person had been in the czar's service, but was dead.

In the mean time, came the czar and the other to us; the other, I suppose, was Prince Menzikoff, his general. Our backs were toward them, and our hats on; and when they approached, the person with whom we had conversed, looked down upon the floor with profound respect and silence; but we stood in our first posture, with our faces toward the window, as if we had not taken any notice of them. The person we had conversed with was an Englishman, a Muscovy merchant, known to the czar in his own country, understood his language, and was his interpreter. Then the czar spoke something to him, which we did not understand. Upon which he asked us, "Why do you not pay respect to great persons, when you are in their presence?" I answered, So we do when we

are fully sensible of it, especially to kings and princes: for though we have laid aside and decline all vain and empty shows of respect and duty, and flattering titles, whereby they are generally deceived, by insincere and designing men, who seem to admire them for their own ends; yet we yield all due and sincere respect and duty to such, and all in authority under them, by giving ready obedience to all their lawful commands. But when, at any time, any of them, either through tyranny or ignorance, or ill counsel, happens to command anything contrary to our duty to the Almighty, or his son Christ our Lord; then we offer our prayers and tears to God, and humble addresses unto such rulers, that their understandings may be opened, and their minds changed toward us.

The czar gave no reply to this, but talked with his interpreter again, who then asked: "Of what use can you be, in any kingdom or government, seeing you will not bear arms and fight?"

To this I replied, that many of us had borne arms in times past, and been in many battles, and fought with courage and magnanimity, and thought it lawful and a duty then, in days of ignorance; and I myself had worn a sword, and other arms, and knew how to use them. But when it pleased God to reveal in our hearts the life and power of Jesus Christ, his Son, our Lord, who is the Prince of righteousness and peace, whose commandment is love, we were then reconciled unto God, one unto another, unto our enemies, and unto all men. And he that commandeth that we should love our enemies, hath left us no right to fight and destroy, but to convert them. And yet we are of use and helpful in any kingdom or government: for the principle of our religion prohibits idleness, and excites to industry; as it is written, "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks;" and we, being husbandmen, concerned in all manner of husbandry and improvements, as likewise in manufactories and merchandizing, with the blessing of Heaven upon our labors, do not want, but rather abound. And though we are prohibited arms, and fighting in person, as inconsistent (we

think) with the rules of the Gospel of Christ; yet we can, and do, by his example, readily and cheerfully pay unto every government, in every form, where we happen to be subjects, such sums and assessments as are required of us by the respective laws under which we live. For when a general tax was laid by the Roman czar upon his extensive empire, and the time of payment came, the Lord Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, demanded of Peter: "Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up: and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money, that take and give unto them (the tribute gatherers) for me and thee." Thus working a miracle to pay a tax, where yet it was not strictly due, we by so great an example do freely pay our taxes to Cæsar, who, of right, hath the direction and application of them to the various ends of government, to peace or to war, as it pleaseth him, or as need may be, according to the constitution or laws of his kingdom; and in which we, as subjects, have no direction or share: for it is Cæsar's part to rule, in justice and in truth, but ours to be subject, and mind our own business, and not to meddle with his.

Upon this the czar took several turns in the gallery or passage, and then came and looked steadfastly upon us, though we did not seem to mind him, or know that it was he. Then I said to the interpreter, that we understood there was a person of great dignity and distinction in that place, a stranger; very inspectious into the state of affairs and things in general, and, no doubt, might be also inquisitive into the state of religion; and we (being a people differing in some points from all others, and so much misunderstood and misrepresented in our own country, that even our neighbors themselves did not know us), lest that great prince should be misinformed, and imposed upon concerning us and our religion, had brought him some

books, dedicated to the sovereign of our native country; by which he might please to see a full account of our principles. We then produced two of the Apologies in Latin.

Then the czar talked again with the interpreter, who asked us: "Were not these books writ by a Jesuit? It is said there are Jesuits among you." To which Gilbert Mollyson replied, "That is a calumny, and proves the necessity of our endeavors, in that respect, at this time. We have no Jesuits among us. Our religion and theirs differ very widely. This book was writ by a near relation of mine, who was not a Jesuit, but sincerely of those principles asserted and maintained in the book, as our whole community is."

And then the czar and interpreter talked together again; after which the latter took some gold out of his pocket, and offered us for the books. But I told them, we were no such men as to want anything for the books, or otherwise. They were a present to that great prince, and given freely; and all that we desired was, that they might be acceptable; and that in case any of our Friends should, at any time hereafter, come into his country, and preach those principles contained in the books, and if they should meet with opposition and be persecuted, by any officers or persons in power under him, for the same, he would please to afford them protection and relief. Then they talked together again, and the interpreter kept the books; and the czar and Prince Menzikoff retired into the room from whence they came.

They being gone, we asked the interpreter if that was the czar? He said he was. Then we asked him, if he had told the czar the substance of what we had said? and he said he had. Then we desired, that if he asked him any more questions about us and our religion, not to mention to him any of those rude calumnies thrown upon us by ignorant and malicious persons, but the truth, to the best of his observation and information; and he promised he would. Then he told us, that the czar did not understand the Latin tongue, but only his own language and High Dutck. Then Gilbert Mollyson

gave one of the Apologies to the interpreter (for he had several with him), and so we departed in peace and satisfaction.

This was about the beginning of the week, and the next first day the czar, the prince, and a great company of his other attendants, came in the morning to our meeting in Grace Church Street, all in English habits, like English gentlemen, and the same interpreter with him. I happened to be there in the gallery, and the first I knew was Menzikoff. Robert Haddock had begun to preach a little before they came in, upon the subject of "Naaman, the captain general of the host of the Assyrians, going to the prophet for cure of his leprosy; who directing him to dip himself seven times in the river Jordan; the general, despising the means, as too low a thing, expecting some ceremony or action from the prophet, was about to return without a cure, till being persuaded by his own servant to make a trial of the means prescribed, he found the end accomplished, by happy experience." From which Robert drew this observation, as from a type of a more excellent and general nature and consequence, saying, "The nations of this world being defiled and distempered, as with a leprosy of sin and uncleanness, no cure or help could be found, until the Almighty, in his infinite goodness, sent his son Jesus Christ into the world, to die for man as a propitiation for sin; through whom also he hath sent forth his divine light, Spirit, and grace upon all mankind, in order for the completing of that cure; which nothing less can do, and to which all mankind are directed by the servants of Christ; and as many as have believed and made trial of this excellent means, have found the blessed effects thereof; they have been healed, cured, and cleansed. Now," said he, "if thou wert the greatest king, emperor, or potentate upon earth, thou art not too great to make use of the means offered by the Almighty for thy healing and restoration, if ever thou expect to enter his kingdom, into which no unclean thing can come." And the czar and his interpreter were often whispering together in the time, though Robert Haddock knew nothing of his being in the meeting; and thus he stayed very sociably, till observing

the people crowd up before him to gaze (which he could not endure), he retired on a sudden, along with his company, before the meeting was quite over: for some people in the streets had seen him as he came, and, by some means, had discovered who he was, and crowded after him to see him more perfectly.

CHAPTER XIII.

A GENTLEWOMAN AT SHANNIGARY CASTLE.

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1698.
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SPECIAL PROVIDENCES.

ON the 7th we went into the barony of Imokilley, where lies great part of William Penn's estate in that kingdom, some of which he viewed, and we stayed there about till the 10th; and being at the castle of Shannigary, belonging to him, a gentlewoman, of good sense and character, related to me the following passage, viz: that she, being in the city of Cork when it was invested by King William's army, and having a little daughter of hers with her, they were sitting together on a squab; and being much concerned in mind about the danger and circumstances they were under, she was seized with a sudden fear and strong impulse to arise from that seat, which she did in a precipitant manner, and hasted to another part of the room; and then was in a like concern for her child, to whom she called with uncommon earnestness to come to her, which she did; immediately after which came a cannon-ball and struck the seat all in pieces, and drove the parts of it about the room, without any hurt to either of them.

From this relation I took occasion to reason with her thus:

that intelligencer which gave her notice, by fear, of the danger they were in, must be a spiritual being, having access to her mind (which is likewise of a spiritual nature) when in that state of humiliation under those circumstances; and must also be a good and beneficent intelligencer, willing to preserve them, and furnished also with knowledge and foresight more than human. He must have known that such a piece would be fired at that time, and that the ball would hit that seat, and infallibly destroy you both, if not prevented in due time, by a suitable admonition; which he suggested by the passion fear (the passions being useful when duly subjected), and by that means saved your lives. And seeing that the passions of the mind can be wrought upon for our good, by an invisible, beneficent intelligencer in the mind, in a state of humiliation and stillness, without any exterior medium, is it not reasonable to conclude, that an evil intelligencer may have access likewise to the mind, in a state of unwatchfulness, when the passions are moving, and the imagination at liberty to form ideas destructive to the mind, being thereby depraved and wounded? and when so, is it not likewise reasonable to think, that the Almighty himself, who is the most pure, merciful, and beneficent spirit, knowing all events and things, doth sometimes, at his pleasure, visit the minds of mankind, through Christ, as through or under a veil, so as to communicate of his goodness and virtue to a humble and silent mind, to heal and instruct him in things pleasing to himself, and proper for the conduct of man in his pilgrimage through this present world, and lead him to the next in safety?

This coming immediately upon the instance she had given, took with her and the company; who readily granted it might be so, and some of them knew it; and this conversation seemed agreeable to us all.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DEAN OF LIMERICK.

1698.

SILENT WORSHIP, ETC.

THUS we travelled through the country visiting friends and meetings as we went, till we came up towards the south parts; where I left the company and went to Clonmell, in order to see my brother George, then Dean of Limerick, and met with him at Thomas Osborn's (eldest son of Sir Thomas Osborn), whose wife was my brother's wife's aunt. He had been sent into France for education, and there had embraced the Romish religion.

When I came to the house, I found him of a frank and familiar temper, and in less than an hour he desired me to take a turn with him in the garden; and, being there, he opened a back door into an avenue, and made the door fast that none might disturb us; and, walking there together, he asked me some questions concerning our principles, and more particularly of our silent meetings, and of what advantage they were to us; for he did suppose they were of some use, else we would not continue in the practice of them.

I answered, that we had been, as other men, subject to common infirmities, and ignorant of God, as to any experience of his presence and divine working in us, till it pleased him, in his own goodness and mercy, to visit us by the Spirit of his Son Christ; through which we had known a time of condemnation and humiliation for sins past, and true repentance and forgiveness; and believing in him, through the work of his spirit and power in our minds, he, with the light and

life of his Son, became the object of our faith ; by which also he sanctified our hearts, and reconciled us unto himself : so that the enmity being slain, and we made temples of the Holy Ghost, we now worshipped the Father through the Spirit of his Son, in a state of faith and obedience ; whereby we draw near unto him, even through that blessed medium which himself hath appointed, partaking of the nature of man ; not of flesh and blood only as the Son of Man, but also being clothed with a holy human mind, by him we are made partakers of the divine nature as the sons of God ; as it is written, "He shall take of mine, and give it unto you : " And the Father being made manifest in him, we have instructions in wisdom and enjoyments in the divine and blessed presence of which the world, in a state of nature, is not aware, and not more so than in a state of true silence ; where all the passions, affections, and natural desires of the heart are silenced, by the all commanding voice and power of the divine word ; who hath said, "Let the worlds be, and it was so."

He heard me with attention, and replied, "that he firmly believed what I had said ; that we were such a people, and consequently the happiest in the world, over whom the Almighty hath a particular care," and then he began and told me a passage concerning himself, saying, "that he and some other gentlemen, being occasionally at Clonmell some time ago, they heard that one of our meetings was to be there that day, appointed by ———, one of our preachers from the west of England, and they agreed to go to it ; and after they had been there about half an hour, the rest all tired, and would have had him away with them ; but he was so much satisfied with what he felt there, that he could not go with them, but stayed the meeting to the end ; having never met with the like satisfaction anywhere else."

By the time this relation was finished, he began to be apprehensive that his priest might miss us out of the company, and be in quest of him (for he kept a popish priest in his house under the appearance of a gentleman), and so it proved ; for we were but got back into the garden till he came to us : and

the priest beginning to ask me some questions about religion, he withdrew; for the priests will seldom permit, if they can avoid it, that their people shall hear any debates between them and Protestants, lest they should be infected with what they call heresy; unless where they think they shall have manifestly the advantage in the argument upon the subject.

The first question he asked me was, "whether we believed Predestination?" I answered, no; but that the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, is universal, and free to all mankind.

Then he said, they were of different opinions on that subject; some one way, and some another, and then asked me what we thought of excommunication, what effect it is of in the Church? I answered, that it ought to be applied to such as deny the faith in express words; or, if not in words, yet by actions, by committing and persisting in any immoral or sinful acts; or declining the common and stated rules of the community, or terms of Christian communion among them: but that excommunication ought not to affect life, liberty, property, or the person of any one, but only to deny him Christian communion till reformed. "This," he said, "was not of sufficient force to awe offenders, or to induce their return, where the motives to their offences were strong and cogent." I replied, that to be denied communion by any real Christian congregation, of which one is a member, is a matter of great weight and consequence: for certainly God is with and in his own appointments; and whosoever is denied by the Church of Christ, is denied by himself: for as she acts in and by his Spirit, which is ever in her, and present with her, it is his act by her, and in that respect, she is called the ground and pillar of truth: and offenders, so denied, undergo, even in this life, a burden more sinking, than the loss of all they have in the world; whereby life itself becomes a load and tedious. But where any form of excommunication is invented only by the wisdom or policy of men, from secular views, with punishments of their own contriving annexed, the Lord doth not co-operate there, nor own that ordinance; so that the punishments award-

ed, which are often inadequate, cruel, and unjust, are all that the excommunicated sustain : not for the salvation of the soul, but satisfying the ends of power, pride, covetousness, and envy, to the destruction of the character, estate, body, and family, if not ruin of the soul, by complying (under such grievous temptations) with heterodox errors in opinion, and practices immoral, idolatrous, and antichristian ; fruits of the inventions of apostate and fallen spirits, by whom the children of men are deceived.

What he would have replied to this, or whether anything, I do not know, but being then near the house, we were called to supper ; and during the time thereof, we were very peaceable ; but that being over, he began to introduce other matter of controversy.

First, he saluted me with some encomiums, to tame me (though I was very peaceable, and my spirit over him in myself), that he might cast his net with greater certainty and success. "Sir," said he, "I have heard a very good character of you, both as to your understanding, and other qualifications and accomplishments ; from which I conclude, it must have been something extraordinary, or very particular, which hath induced you to embrace a religion and opinions, so much and so generally exploded by men of sense and penetration ; and as sufficient reasons, to yourself at least, for what you have done on that account cannot be a-wanting to a man of your repute, I beg leave to ask you some questions, that I may be better informed than yet I have been, concerning the religion you now profess.

"Do you believe there ever was such a man in the world, as Jesus Christ?" This question looked scurrilous and smiting ; yet, perceiving he meant to lay a foundation for some further superstructure, I answered, Yes, we believe all that is written in the Holy Scriptures concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and upon as good a foundation and evidence, if not better, than any who have pretended to suspect us on that account. Then he went on : "Do you believe that Jesus Christ made choice of twelve persons, called his apostles?" I

answered, Yes. Again said he, "Do you believe that Christ commanded his apostles to go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" I answered, Yes, with some restrictions and observations, now to be noted, we do. He continued to interrogate; "Do you believe that the apostles of Christ did go and preach and baptize, according to this command?" I answered, as before, Yes. Then, said he, "How can you be Christians, or disciples of Christ, who deny this baptism, and do not at all practise it?"

Then I asked him, if he did believe, and those of his communion, that the Lord Jesus, at that time, thereby instituted water baptism? He answered, "They did believe, that Christ did, by these words, at that time, institute water baptism."

Then I answered, that if they were not Christians who declined the use of water baptism, I would prove that neither himself, nor the Pope, nor any of his communion, are Christians, not being baptized at all in the practice of what Christ commanded or instituted, at that time on that account, as followeth: John the Baptist, being commanded by the word of God to baptize the Jews in water, foretold them of another baptizer much preferable to himself, and of a baptism superexcelling his, being of another nature, and more powerful and efficacious, with the Holy Ghost and fire: and this baptizer is Christ; who having been circumcised, in obedience unto the ordinance of the law of Moses, under which, as man, he was born into this world, and fulfilled, in his own person, all the righteousness thereof incumbent upon him, according to the prophets, he was also baptized of John with water; thereby not only submitting to that dispensation, as an ordinance of God for the time being, but also fulfilling all righteousness in his own person; that being declared from heaven to be the Son of God, he might, from thenceforth, through the divine anointing poured upon him above all his brethren, and without measure, be the dispenser of all righteousness and truth unto all generations. And from thenceforth he preached repentance to the Jews, as John did, and by his disciples (but not in his own person), baptized likewise with water, as an

intermediate dispensation between the law and the Gospel: but with this difference, John baptized for a time, without directing the subjects of his baptism to any certain object of faith, saying, they must believe in one that was to come after him (for he did not then know that Jesus was the Christ); but the disciples of Christ, as also John, from the time of the baptism of Jesus, having believed in him as he is the Messiah, preached not only repentance, but also that Jesus is the Christ and Saviour promised of God unto Israel; and consequently directed them unto him as the true object of their faith, and baptized in his name, and by his authority whilst yet present with them: and yet water baptism is but water baptism, whether administered by Christ himself, or by any other he may command; nor did John, or the disciples of Christ, administer water baptism in that day to any but the Jews or Proselytes among them. But after Christ had been crucified, and arisen from the dead, and his disciples with him, a little before he ascended into heaven, he said unto them (the eleven), "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," &c. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. But do not depart from Jerusalem; but wait for the promise of the Father, which ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence. But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. And teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

1st. The Lord Jesus declares his own power, and sufficient authority to institute this baptism: "all power in heaven and in earth." 2dly. The extent of it: "to all nations;" to preach the Gospel to all the world; thereby disciplining, or initiating,

all that believe and obey, into the divine nature of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: and the act of baptizing is chiefly by preaching in the power and wisdom of the Spirit of Christ, and sometimes by laying on of the hands of his ministers, as moved thereunto by the same Spirit. 3dly. The advantage to be reaped by believing their message, and being baptized with this baptism, "they shall be saved;" which salvation cannot be imputed to water baptism. 4thly. The judgment denounced against such as would not believe the message of his ministers and witnesses, thus qualified and sent: "they shall be damned." 5thly. The apostles themselves were not to enter upon that work, nor could they perform it (notwithstanding this verbal command from his own mouth), but under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost, and by his power only; being no other than the Spirit of Christ promised to them before he was crucified. 6thly. It was not water baptism; for that he here contradistinguisheth from the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and ascribes it to John, saying, "John truly baptized with water," as a thing already over, at least in point of obligation; and then baptism of the Holy Ghost alone is here appointed, as thus distinguished by the adversitive part, He; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:" here water baptism was already over, or near an end, and the Spirit's baptism not yet actually commenced, but only promised; and very soon after took place accordingly. 7thly. This baptism is such as cannot be performed without the immediate power of the Holy Ghost; and accordingly he is here mentioned to that end. And it cannot be water baptism, because any man can baptize with water without the Holy Ghost; and all mankind who now use it do so, without any influence at all of the Holy Ghost, or any command from him to that purpose, if at all they have any real knowledge of him. 8thly. And since no power on earth can give this qualification, but Christ alone; and that no man can be a true witness unto him, be his minister, or preach him and his Gospel, but by the power and influence of the Spirit of Christ, immediately upon him in the time of preaching;

and that they only who are so qualified by him, have right or power to preach the Gospel (and that is in all parts of the world), they ought not to be hindered or molested by any earthly power: and such as do obstruct them are opposers of the work of Him who hath all power, and shall surely suffer by that power in this or another world; or in both, if they do not, in due time, repent in this. 9thly. The matter and substance of their teachings (after having borne witness to himself and his sufferings), "All things whatsoever he had before commanded them;" first, the old commandment, which they had heard from the beginning, viz.: The righteousness of the moral law, briefly expressed in these words, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself," and, secondly, the new and Gospel commandment, that they should love one another, as the true and certain characteristic of their discipleship. 10thly. And, in this Gospel, and this practice, he promised to be with them, and all those who should succeed them, in this faith and practice, to the end of the world. So that, as his true ministers can do nothing without him; yet, as he is always with them, they are, by him, enabled to do all things, whatsoever it pleaseth him to work in or by them, or require of them: and whosoever set themselves at work pretending to exercise any ordinance of Christ, without his spirit and power sensibly with them, they are Antichrists and impostors; and therefore they have not, nor can they profit the people, but mislead them.

And as to those instances from whence thou seems to collect, that the apostles baptized with water after the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them; that was only a continuance of the same water baptism they had been in practice of in John's time, and not from that command and mission. Mat. xxviii. 19.

As to the continuance of water baptism in the Church unto this day, that is a great mistake. For, first, I observe what water baptism is in the act of it; that is, a going into water, and being washed and dipped therein, and not rantized, or sprinkled only: and, secondly, note also, that what water bap-

tism was administered in the apostles' days, was always only in the name of the Lord Jesus, and not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; which shows it was not from that command in Matthew xxvii., 19, for then they would have pursued these terms of institution; which they never did, by anything I can find in all the Scriptures. Now, I say again, that if they are not Christians, who are not under the administration of water baptism, then you yourselves are no Christians, having been out of the practice even of that water baptism, for many generations; inventing to yourselves sprinkling of infants, never commanded by Christ, nor practised by his apostles; and is no baptism at all, but rantism; and is an error from both the mode and subjects of baptism: and therefore you only profane and take in vain that holy name, in which you exercise this your own invention.

Upon this the priest was totally silent; and knowing him bound, I challenged him three times before the company, to answer me on that subject if he could; and yet he never did, nor said anything at all on any other subject that night.

Then my brother (seeming to be concerned for his brother priest, though of another form), said, "I ought not to think the gentleman could say no more, because he was silent." To whom I answered, that I would not have him pretend to cover him; for I knew where he was, and that he could say no more; and added, that if himself had anything to say on that subject, I was ready for him too: for though I regarded the Dean of Limerick as in an office among men, and as my elder brother; yet, being now in defence of Truth, I could regard no man so as to decline it on any account or consideration whatever. And then, he and all the company being silent, I told them, that the Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and all their subdivisions, were of one spirit, and from one root, and would have like judgment in the end; having persecuted and destroyed each other in their turns, as they have had power; and all of them persecuted and oppressed the innocent, and still continue to do so where they can.

This being on the seventh day at night, and now very late,

I took leave of my relations, intending to meet William Penn, and John Everot, and Samuel Waldenfield, and John Vaughton from London, next day at a meeting at Cashel: and proposing to go to rest, the gentlemen of the house would not suffer a servant to attend me to my chamber, but would go himself: and when there, he told me, "that he had never heard those things so explained before; that he was very glad of the occasion; and that he was of the same mind with me therein: That he would gladly go with me in the morning to hear Mr. Penn, but that my brother and sister had not been at his house before that time since their intermarriage, and it would look as if he neglected them, if he should go with me: and besides, said he, this person, with whom you discoursed (as I hinted in the garden) is a priest, whom I keep in my house; and I know he would take it ill if I should go to your meeting, and leave our own devotion."

CHAPTER XV.

A TRADER FROM LONDON.

CEDAR POINT, VIRGINIA.

1699.

CIRCUMCISION AND BAPTISM.

AFTER the meeting we returned with William Herbert to his house, where came to us a trading person from London; and he being sitting with us, near the river, it came into my mind that he came for dispute; and he, and William Herbert, and his wife, going into the house, we followed them; and as I passed the window, I perceived he was reading a passage to them out of a book, and when we went in, found it was con-

cerning the institution of circumcision, which was to be administered on the eighth day of the age of the male infant; asserting that baptism (he meant sprinkling of infants) was now as necessary as that was then: And then he began to allege against my companion, that he had uttered something in the meeting concerning baptism, which he could not maintain by Scripture; that is, "that the baptism now used (he meant by the National Church) was never instituted of God, by any evidence appearing in Scripture, nor any precedent there for sprinkling infants; nor any water baptism commanded since the baptism of John was put to an end."

The first part we owned my companion had spoken, which the stranger oppugning, we put him upon his proof; and, after a short dispute, my companion brought him to confess that he could not defend it by Scripture: and then he went to the second part, viz, "nor any water baptism commanded since the baptism of John was put to an end." This we denied to have been spoken by my companion, as he stated it; but since he had confessed himself a member of the National Church, my companion insisted that he had nothing to do with baptism with water till he should come into the practice of it.

He replied, "You mentioned the thing in the meeting, and the question is not, whether I or another be of the Baptist's opinion and practice, but whether any water baptism was instituted after John's baptism?" But my companion having put him to silence as to sprinkling, and denying his charge as to the other part, said little more then to him.

But a concern remaining upon me lest this man should go away boasting, I entered into the argument with him upon the subject at large; and that since he had asserted that Christ instituted another water baptism than that of John, I put him upon the proof of it. Then he cited that text in Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," &c.

I replied, that this text was not to his purpose, for water was not so much as mentioned in it; and if the Lord Christ had intended water, as the instrument of this baptism, he

would have expressed it. To this he alleged, "That the practice of the apostle, pursuant to this institution, determined that it was water baptism; for from this time they baptized with water in divers instances, and particularly in that of Philip's baptizing the eunuch."

Answer: The practice of the apostles doth not determine it to be water baptism, because they practised circumcision, vows, shavings, purifications, and other Jewish rites; which, in point of obligation, were all ended by the coming of Christ in the flesh, and suffering for all mankind; and so was water baptism by the coming of the Holy Ghost; but, for the better understanding of this command, observe, that John the Baptist was commanded by the word of God to preach repentance unto Israel, and to baptize them in water, directing them to the true object of faith, then about to be made manifest; that is, Christ the Lord, the true Messiah and sent of God, though not known to John himself at that time; and of whom he said, "I indeed baptize (or have baptized) you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" which shows there was a baptism of a more excellent and efficacious nature then to come, and by an administrator incomparably superior to John, that is, Christ; who, when he appeared in the flesh to Israel his people, preached to them the same doctrine of repentance as John did; and his disciples also preached the same, and baptized them with the same baptism as John did, differing only in this circumstance of administration, John baptized them, saying they should believe in Christ then to come; whereas the disciples of Christ baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, declaring him to be the true Messiah that Moses and the prophets had prophesied of.

Now, here is water baptism transferred from John to the disciples of Jesus (for Jesus himself baptized not with water), who made and baptized more than John did, and John being soon after martyred, water baptism remained under the administration of the disciples of Christ only: and, until the resurrection of Christ, we hear no more of the baptism of the Holy Ghost (as I now remember), foretold by John as aforesaid: nor

was the baptism of the Holy Ghost declared as a dispensation to the believers and disciples of Christ till a little before his ascension ; nor established as such till the coming of the Spirit of Christ upon them at Jerusalem.

Now, as to the introduction and terms of this baptism and dispensation, they lie thus in the Holy Scriptures: "All power in heaven and earth is given unto me," saith the Son of God; "repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name, unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, in Samaria, in Judea, in all the regions round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth: go ye, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." And, to obviate any misapprehension the disciples might be incident to, the Lord adds, "Go ye into all the earth, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned: But tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye have received power from on high; but ye shall have power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

Now, here is water baptism plainly ascribed to John, and the disciples of Christ already in the practice of it; and the baptism of the Holy Ghost as clearly distinguished from it, as being the permanent dispensation of God unto all, who should believe in Christ and the Holy Spirit to the end of the world, by the preaching of the Gospel by his own power; which accordingly began at the city of Jerusalem, at the time of Pentecost, as by the testimony of Holy Writ.

But to show how little poor mortals understand of the things of God, though ever so plainly told us by the hearing of the ear, without the Spirit of Christ revealed in ourselves, the disciples, who had been so long with him, and heard him speak as never man spake, being yet unconverted, though convinced, replied to all that he had then said on those divine subjects

of the highest importance, "Wilt thou, at this time, restore again the kingdom unto Israel?" And the words of Christ, though so plain as to the nature of this baptism, that is, with the Holy Ghost, and as to the extent of it, that is, to all nations, to all the earth, and to all mankind; yet the apostles did not understand as to either, but still thought themselves confined to the Jews, till Peter was sent to Cornelius and his household, who were Gentiles.

It is not to be admired, therefore, that the apostles, or some of them, might administer water baptism in some instances (though few plainly to be proved), since it was about eight years after the institution and commencement of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as a dispensation, before they understood the nature or extent of it; and no man knows any more of the things of God by the Holy Ghost than he opens or manifests to him.

And it is also observable, that what baptism any of the disciples administered with water, after the coming of the Holy Ghost, was not from that command, mentioned Matt. xxviii. 19, but from their practice of John's baptism before, and in his time, as appears by the manner of administration; for it never was in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the terms of institution in that text, but only in the name of the Lord Jesus, or name of the Lord, being the same.

But when your priest saith to a child of eight days of age, or the like, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," he uttereth a false proposition; for he doth not baptize, but rantize, or sprinkle, and taketh the name of the Lord in vain, using it where the Almighty hath not commanded it to be used or named.

After this my opponent said no more, but only this, "that he could not believe but that some water baptism was still necessary:" and so this conference ended in a friendly manner; and I said to him as he departed, may he, whose word of wisdom alone can give understanding in the things of God, and speak forth knowledge in the secret of the heart, answer that; for it is not in the power of man. And so he bowed in good manners, in his way, and departed.

CHAPTER XVI.

A CHAMPION IN DISGUISE.

STANFORD, CONNECTICUT.

1699.

PREDESTINATION.

WHEN this was over, we went into the inn, where several of their elders and champion disputants came to dispute with us, and one of them as a kind of cheat, in mean clothes; and he sat down in the chimney corner, and, smoking tobacco, leered from under his old hat like an idiot: But his design was, as we apprehended, all of a sudden to break out in such wisdom as should surprise us in so mean an appearance; yet he came off as meanly as he appeared.

The first matter pitched upon was the universal free grace of God to all men, through our Lord Jesus Christ; which we asserted, and fully maintained over them; which being contrary to their beloved and false doctrine of personal predestination, it occasioned a discourse on that subject; which they asserted, and we opposed: and then the unlikely disputant came and placed himself at the head of the table, and espoused their cause; and, the proof being incumbent upon them, he, with great confidence, asserted, "That God said, before Jacob and Esau were born, that he loved Jacob and hated Esau; and that it was the pleasure and decree of God from everlasting so to do, without any cause in either of them, being before they had done good or evil."

Then I called for one of their Bibles, and told him he and they all were in a great mistake concerning that Scripture; for God did not say, before the children were born, Jacob

have I loved, and Esau have I hated ; but said, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels ; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." Here the answer of God, being a prediction, had no respect to the persons of Jacob and Esau ; nor was it ever fulfilled personally in them : for Esau, who was the elder, never served Jacob in person ; but, on the contrary, Jacob did obeisance to Esau, and called him his lord. Gen. xxxii., 4, 18, 20.

This prediction, then, was written concerning the differing posterity of Esau and Jacob, and not their persons ; and was fulfilled in the Edomites of Mount Seir, who came of Esau, and Israel, who came of Jacob : and the displeasure of God against the Edomites, was not from any fore-hatred, or decree of God from eternity, as ye suppose ; but the moral cause of his displeasure and their ruin was, their great sins and wickedness, as declared by the prophets of God ; and first by Ezekiel : "Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel, by the force of the sword, in the time of their calamity," &c. ; and likewise by Amos : "Because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and keep his wrath for ever." And also by Obadiah, against Esau, that is Edom : "For the pride of thine heart ; for thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever."

And last of all by Malachi, who hath it thus : "Was not Esau Jacob's brother, saith the Lord, yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste," &c., which was for his pride, obstinacy, and opposition, persisting in final rebellion, impenitence, and contradiction : all which is still concerning Edom and Israel, and not the persons of Jacob and Esau ; the last of those prophets, having wrote about 441 years after the prediction of God to Rebecca, concerning their posterity.

And the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, where he

saith, "As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," refers to that of Malachi, as above, about 457 years after Malachi wrote that prophecy. And in that chapter the apostle was laboring to convince the Jews, that they are not the true seed, or elect of God (as they seem to have imagined), because they were the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after the flesh : but Esau, being a rough, wild, hairy man, was a figure of the first birth of man after the flesh, as a son of the first Adam in the fall, who, in that state, cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; and Jacob, a figure of the second birth, or regenerate state of man, in Christ the second Adam ; who never fell, nor could fall : "For," saith the apostle, "they are not all Israel, who are of Israel, neither, because they are of the seed of Abraham, are they all children ; but in Isaac shall thy seed be called. That is, they who are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God ; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed."

Now, say I, the promise is Christ, the Messiah, the elect and promised seed of God ; of whom it is written, "I and the children which thou hast given me:" which children are all that believe in him, as he is the man Christ Jesus, the Son and Word of God, and light of the Gentiles ; and are born of him, by the influence of his Holy Spirit working in them.

And as the Edomites hated and persecuted Israel, and took all occasions and advantages against them to do them hurt, till for so doing they were cut off, and for their other sins when full ; so likewise the Jews hated, rejected, and persecuted Christ, the elect of God : for which they also were cut off, and remain infidels to this day : and they also now, as in all ages, who are born only after the flesh, and not after the Spirit, do hate, persecute, and, as much as they can, destroy them who are born of the elect seed of God, after the Spirit ; for which, if they repent not in time, they will likewise be cut off, and perish everlastingly. This weakened one of our opponents, and his spirit fell much, and the better part came a little up, and in view ; but the foolish-like disputant, instead of appearing in wisdom, acted like himself, in a precipitant, ungovern-

able, furious zeal, and, starting up in the spirit of Edom, said, "I affirm, that all the sins Esau ever committed, were the effects of the eternal decree of God, and hatred against him, before he was created, and not the cause of that wrath and fore-hatred:" and so, in a rage, would have run away, but I kept close to the table (he being behind it), and hindered him; and looking him in the face, replied, "I affirm! who art thou?" looking upon him till his lofty spirit fell under; and then I, repeating the assertion, demanded his proof from the Scriptures; but none could be had.

Then I returned it upon him, as a false, blasphemous, and unjust charge against the Almighty; under which he remained silent: and the other asking me a question, to be informed concerning the light of Christ in man, which he confessed he knew nothing of, he slunk away in the mean time through the crowd of people on the other side of the table, and made off out of the house; and the Truth came over all, and I believe several understandings were, in some degree, opened on that subject, and some other points; for we had no further dispute, but the other opponent, and the people, parted with us in a friendly manner; the better part being sensibly reached and above: and then we departed in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be the praise of all; for of him is the understanding and power, now and forever.

That evening we went forward to Fairfield, about twenty miles, and lodged at the house of one Philip Lewis. He told us there was to be a great meeting of their people, and a quarterly lecture, in that place next day, to the inhabitants of seven townships and all their ministers. We took notice of it, but said nothing; but in the morning, my companion told me, he thought he could not go clear from thence if he did not go to the lecture; at which I was well pleased, for I had likewise a secret inclination to be at the meeting; but, not having seen clearly a sufficient warrant in myself for such an undertaking, I was not forward to engage, or speak of it: but walking into a field, I sat down upon a stone on the top of a little hill, and the word of Truth began to work in me more fully and clearly;

and then I received not only free will, but likewise power; yet still kept the thing to myself: and, returning to my companion at the inn, thither came the priest of Stanford, before mentioned, to inquire privately of our landlord, whether we intended to appear at their lecture; which he not knowing, but as he conjectured by our staying, told him he would inquire of us; and then we were free to tell him, it might so fall out; which he told the priest; who took it for granted, and returned to the rest: And their first bell being rung, notice was given not to ring the second till an hour after the usual time, by which we reasonably conjectured they held a consultation in the meanwhile what to do if we came; and prepared or altered the sermon, to suit the occasion.

When the time came we went to the meeting-house, and they had begun their prayer; which we perceiving as we approached the door, did not then enter, lest we should offend them with our hats, for we did not intend to interrupt them in their worship; but going aside, we sat down upon the green, where we could hear the voice of him that prayed, though not distinguish his words: He made a very long prayer; which being ended, they sang a psalm of David; and we stayed till that was over, and then entered as the preacher was giving out his text, which was from the first three verses of the 55th chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, in these words, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk, without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread; and your labor for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David."

This text we were well pleased with, for he could hardly have taken one, more apt against himself and all others, whose ground of preaching is their own gain and livelihood, and for their own honor, interest, and advancement in the world.

He divided his text into four heads, and then into several branches and subdivisions. His sermon would be too tedious to recite, nor can I, verbatim; but, in the handling of the matter, he asserted, "the universal free grace of God, in Jesus Christ; and that he is offered to all, but many reject him for the trifles of this life; and consequently their damnation is of themselves," &c.

And here I think proper to insert the names of the ministers, the town justice, and constables: for the township of Stratford, Israel Chancy, who made the sermon; for Woodbury, — Walker; for Fairfield, where we then were, Joseph Webb; for Stanford, mentioned before, John Davenport; for Norwalk, Stephen Buckingham; for Danbury, Seth Shove; for Paquanock, Charles Chancy; Nathan Gould, justice: constables, Joseph Wakeman, Daniel Frost, Dougal Mackenzie.

The sermon being over, the minister went to prayer; which being finished, the priests and people began to move away; which was scarce discernible, till Roger Gill, my companion, stood up on a form, and began to speak, saying, "We have patiently heard what hath been declared; and having something likewise to say, we expect the like moderation from you." Upon which the people halted, and would have heard; but, in a moment, five of the preachers, who were in a gallery, descended from thence, and the other two arose from their seats, and called to the people to depart; and some of them cried aloud for the powers: But he that had preached took Roger Gill by the hand as he stood on the form, and prayed him to come down; and Roger urging the reasonableness of our liberty to speak, since they had done, the priest of Stanford cried out, "Sir, you are not qualified; you have no call from the people as we have."

To which Roger replied, "Have you your qualifications and call only from the people? Our call is from God, and we recommend our testimony to the consciences of the people: Through the grace of God we call them to the faith and obedience of Christ, and not they us."

Then the priest rejoined, "that their qualifications to preach

were of God, but the call of the people was also necessary ;” and then cried out, Where are the powers? Upon which Nathan Gould, their justice, commanded the constables to take us into custody; one of whom arising from his seat, his next neighbor pulled him down, many being desirous to hear us; but, soon after, several of them came and haled us away: Then I called to the people, and told them, they were not from thenceforth to pay anything to their ministers for preaching, since they had made open proclamation, that all was now to be without money or price; at which many of them smiled, but I had not said anything before. The constables took us out from among them, to the further side of a large street; and then I demanded a sight of their warrant, and they confessed they had none but the justice’s command: Then I took their names in writing, and admonished them to beware of false imprisonment; for they themselves knew that I had neither done nor said anything against any law. They replied, “We were not in prison:” But, said I, custody is imprisonment by the law of England. Then they were a little surprised, and my companion went from them back to the people, most of whom were remaining about the meeting-house; and there he had a good opportunity to clear himself among them.

And while he was speaking, a Predestinarian (for he spake against that tenet) came to interrupt him; but another of their own party pulled him away, and said, “The man spake truth:” and I also kept several of them off, by giving them soft words, and desiring them to be patient till he had done, and then to object if they had anything against him: but he met with no opposition in the end; for, after awhile, they were generally very sober, and some tender.

When he had finished, I did not find anything upon me for the people, but asked them where their ministers were, for I had a mind to see them; and several were forward to show us they were gone to the house of the minister of the town, and we went thither; where, when we came, we understood they were at dinner, and the master of the house coming to us, I told him we desired to speak with them; but, seeing it was

then unseasonable, we would call after they had dined. He kindly invited us to eat with them, and said we should be as welcome as any there; but we returned to our inn, and after refreshment we went back to them; where they were smoking tobacco.

When we entered the room they generally arose from their seats to tender their civilities; only the preacher, being old, and weary with the work of the day, and lying upon the bed, did not arise, but spake kindly to us. And seats being set, I sat down upon the bed's foot, at the feet of the preacher, and the rest, with my companion, sat round; and some of them urging me to take a chair, as a better seat, I told them I took that seat for the better advantage of seeing them all at once. Then, being a short time silent, I began, and proceeded to expostulate matters with them, and about their treatment of us in their meeting-house; reminding them of our behavior and patience; adding, that we came not to disturb them, but in Christian love and good-will to them and the people; urging their duty to us as strangers, and the order of the Gospel. I recounted also to them the occasion of the coming of their ancestors (if not of some of themselves, being ancient men) into those parts of the world, then a desolate wilderness, viz., for conscience sake, as dissenters from the national worship of England. That it looked unaccountable that they there, being hated, imprisoned, plundered, and divers ways persecuted for that which was, or seemed to be, matter of conscience to them, should now use the like practices, against such as, for conscience sake, were now appearing against some things yet unreformed among them and their people, both in doctrine and practice; among which a necessity of being called by the people to minister to them, is one.

This brought that point again into question; and John Davenport, being, as we supposed, the most learned, and best orator among them, undertook it; and asserted, "that Christ called and ordained twelve apostles, and they ordained others, and those again others, successively unto this day."

That Christ ordained twelve apostles, we granted; but

denied that any, at this day, were in a lineal succession from the apostles so ordained, and put him upon his proof; and that they themselves were so ordained by such succession; but he could make nothing of it. All he could say for proof amounting to no more than his say so, or a repetition of the assertion. And he also slunk from the question about the call of the people to their ministers.

Then said I, but if it were possible to prove such a succession, who are ye? How like are you to the apostles? How doth it appear that you are such? How and what do you succeed them in? You greatly err in your practice from the apostles of Christ. For where do you find, that ever they sat down in little corners of the world, and received maintenance from the people, for themselves and families? and of such too as were not able or willing to pay them? As your case is (for some of them had, by a law, taken the very wearing apparel of some poor people that could not pay them) to take from them their goods and apparel.

Then their champion, being in a rage, spluttered out a mouthful or two of Greek, signifying, "that Paul the apostle had robbed other churches, taking wages of them to supply the wants of the Corinthians to whom he then wrote; and, "thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn."

To which I replied, that their sect, as well as others, had justly blamed the Papists, for having their service in an unknown tongue; and I suspected that the using of it then was for the like end, that the auditory might not understand (for there were many people, and of the greater sort among them, present); so that they might have an opportunity, after we were departed, to say they had overcome us. I then bid him repeat those Scriptures in English, that the people might hear they were nothing to his purpose; which after several evasions he did, first saying, after a scoffing manner, "if you be a minister of Christ, inspired of the Holy Ghost, surely you know the tongues."

I replied, it is not a sentence or two of Greek, or of any

other language, that renders a man knowing in those tongues, nor is that an essential qualification to a minister of Christ. The prophets of God of old, spake to the people by the Spirit of Christ, but in their own language; and so did the apostles too, notwithstanding the gift of tongues, which every minister had not; and that gift was also to cease, and is ceased, though inspiration remains; and no man is either a minister of Christ or a Christian without it. "He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his." And where a minister speaks in a language understood by the people to whom he is sent, it answers the end of speech to all intents, though neither he nor they understand any other. And I am of the mind of the apostle, who said, "I had rather speak five words with the spirit and understanding, than five thousand in an unknown tongue;" yet thou dost not know what I understand of Greek, or any other than that in which I now speak. But, to invert thy own terms, Art thou a minister of Christ? and hast thou thy tongues by inspiration? or art thou a scoffer at inspiration, and a minister of Christ without it? To which he was silent; and I went on to show to the people, that the texts he had cited were nothing to his purpose, and that he and his brethren had nothing to do with them. For, in the first place, they could not prove their succession as ministers of Christ, as they had proposed; and, failing in that, they had no right to claim advantages due only to such. In the second place, what the apostle there received, was not for the maintenance of himself and family, but for the service of the congregation in a time of general want. And as to the treading out of the corn, he had not yet proved, that he, or they, were of those oxen, or that they trode out that corn; and therefore the Scriptures which might be applicable to the apostles and ministers of Christ, were but wrested, as applied to him and them, and their case: For the apostles never had such a maintenance as theirs; but wrought with their hands for their support, and the help of others also, which was not their practice.

He then betook himself to railing and abuse, and gave us

scurrilous language and names; calling us grasshoppers, schismatics, heretics, deceivers, and the like; and pretended to prove his rude charge by a syllogism, which he formed thus: "What people soever deny the Lord Jesus Christ, and his ordinances, and set up the light of the devil in themselves for a Saviour, are heretics: but the Quakers, ever since George Fox, blasphemously preached up that light in themselves for the Saviour of the world, have denied the true Christ and his ordinances; therefore the Quakers are heretics and blasphemers."

Then I looked upon the people round about, and said, Do you think that this man behaves like a minister of Christ? Is this language becoming such a one? What spirit do you think he is of? and from whom proceeds this behavior? Upon which some smiled and others blushed. Then I proceeded to answer him, that we do not, nor ever did, deny the Lord Jesus Christ, nor any of his ordinances, in their various and proper dispensations and seasons: but say, God is Light; and so likewise is Jesus Christ the Son of God, the eternal emanation of the Father's glory. He is the word, wisdom, and power of God; the Word that was made flesh, born of the Virgin Mary, and dwelt among his people, the Jews, under the name of Jesus Christ; which is also that true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And neither George Fox, nor any other minister of Christ among us, nor we, ever preached any other Christ or light, but this, which one of your ministers here, calls the devil. Let him therefore look at his own heresy and blasphemy, and repent.

Then turning to this red-hot blaspheming priest, I told him his syllogism betrayed his ignorance, and his passions his pre-pensed malice; being only an affirmation of the same false charge twice in differing terms, and a stratagem of Satan to amuse the auditory, divert the question, and introduce foreign matter; and so to give him an opportunity to shrink from the point in hand undiscovered, under the fog of his own raising. I then observed to the people, that their ministers were utterly unable to prove any call they had to a Gospel ministry; as they might plainly perceive by what had then passed between

us : and my companion was, all this time, keeping the rest in order, that they should not break in upon us with other matter till that was discussed, as they often attempted.

As to the other pretended proof, that we are heretics, it is, he saith, because we deny the ordinances of Christ, as he calls them ; and, by the ordinances of Christ, he and they mean water baptism, and bread and wine ; and by baptism, they mean the sprinkling of infants in the face with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; as by their frequent practice is evident to the world. Then I told them they had deceived the people, in administering that to them for an ordinance of Christ, which he never commanded ; and that whoever set up, and administer for ordinances of Christ what he hath not commanded, are liable to the curse : For if God will add the plagues, written in the book, to such as shall add to or take away from the words of the book ; and if their part shall be taken out of the book of life, how much more may not the Lord, one day, inflict his just judgments and condemnation upon such as presume to add anything, or take away from any of his ordinances, or anything commanded by him ?

You say, in your catechism, that baptism with water is an ordinance of Christ, necessary to salvation ; and what you mean thereby is plain, as before : I therefore demand your proof, that sprinkling infants is an ordinance of Christ, necessary to salvation ; and that they are heretics who decline the practice of it. This gave all the priests very much disturbance, but the people were grave and silent ; and they earnestly pressed, first to prove water baptism an ordinance of Christ, and then they pretended to prove the other : but we insisted that they had nothing to do with baptism, but to prove the sprinkling of infants, as they used it, to be an ordinance of Christ ; for this is a day wherein every man (and sect too) must be judged according to their works, and not by the works of other men : Then we observed to the people, that their pretended proof of water baptism was only a subtlety to alter the state of the question, and introduce another thing (as they had done before in the other case) which they have no right to maintain till they

practise it. Let them first be baptized themselves, and then we may reason with them on that subject. For when we talk with Baptists we know what to say (and to them too if it were proper); but sprinkling is their point to prove, or nothing.

Then John Davenport changed colors, grew very red, though naturally pale, and, arising from his seat, turned his back upon the people, and pretended to prove infant baptism an ordinance of Christ: but we still insisted on sprinkling, not baptizing, of infants, as their proper task; and, at length, he undertook it, and begun thus:

1st. That Christ said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." 2dly. That the jailer's family, as we read in Scripture, were all baptized, and there might be children among them. 3dly. And that the commission was to baptize the whole world; and surely there were children there.

To this I replied, that what he had advanced for a proof was altogether fallacious; for, 1st, the end the people had in bringing their children to Christ was not to sprinkle or baptize them (for he baptized none), but that he might lay his hands upon them, and bless them; in which he answered the faith and expectation of the people, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of Heaven." The Son of God, therefore, having thus blessed them, and declared their innocence, being yet neither baptized nor sprinkled, let us leave them safe in his holy arms, and under his care, protection, and blessing; where they are fully happy, without anything you can add to their condition.

2dly. As there might be children in that jailer's family, so likewise there might be none; and where the Scripture is silent as to facts, we ought not to presume to speak; and, from a bare possibility, to assert a fact, especially in a thing of this moment, is not good reasoning: but, besides, it is plain there were no children in the jailer's family; for they all believed, which children cannot do; and, to keep to the point, those believers were baptized, not sprinkled.

And, 3dly, as to that text alluded to, with other concomitant Scriptures, they lie thus: "Repentance and remission of sins

should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem : That all power is given unto him, in Heaven and in earth : Go ye, therefore, said he, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, &c. Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature ; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned : and that they should be witnesses unto him of these things ;” of his life, doctrine, miracles, sufferings to death on the cross, resurrection, and ascension, both “ in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.”

The subjects of this baptism (not rantism) are such as have sinned, and are capable of being taught or disciplined ; of believing ; of repentance ; of observing all his commands, to do them ; of receiving their testimony and doctrines of the Gospel in all these particulars, on pain of damnation ; of which children are not capable, and therefore not included in the intent and nature of this commission, though living in the world.

The word βαπτω, of which βαπτίζω, in the Greek language, signifies to drown, or sink in water ; to dip ; to overwhelm ; to plunge ; to thrust in, or to go into water ; to steep, or infuse ; to dye, or color ; to tincture, or, as it were, to impregnate one thing with the nature of another ; as if the subject of baptism, which is dipped, should be intinged or impregnated with the qualities of the instrument of baptism, into which it is dipped, or washed : But when the Greeks would express the thing sprinkling, which is a different act from washing or baptizing, they do it by the word ραντίζω ; which, in its various modes, is always used, as Heb. ix. 19, where it is, Ἐρράντισε ; and Heb. x. 22, xii. 24. 1 Pet. i. 2. Ραντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, et aspersionem sanguinis Jesu Christi, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. See Heb. ix. 21. Ἐρράντισε, aspersit, he sprinkled, &c. So that rantizing or sprinkling of infants, as an ordinance of Christ, and that they are heretics, or schismatics, who decline it, is yet to be proved, and is a false and unchristian charge.

He was loath to yield the point before the people, being a matter of great importance to their function, and therefore rejoined thus: "The reason of things in this, as in all other matters, ought to have some consideration and sway in this case: The baptizing or dipping of children in cold countries, might hazard their lives; and for that reason may be indulged with sprinkling only, as thereby rendering the ordinance more safe and commodious."

To this I replied, that though this was sufficiently answered in what had passed before, yet I would give it a more particular return: that the greatest part of the habitable world lies in the torrid and two temperate zones. In the first it is sufficiently warm at all times, without any hazard of infants taking cold by baptism, or washing; so that if they were the subjects of baptism, as they are not, the mode need not be altered from washing to sprinkling on that pretence; and in each temperate zone it is likewise sufficiently warm great part of the year; and never so cold as to hazard the life or health of a child by dipping in cold water (and they are not forbid to warm it): for the common practice of the Indians upon their children, in the coldest parts of the habitable world, proves it; where they wash their children in cold water immediately upon their being born into the world, the better to harden them to the climate they are in, without any such effects; on the contrary, it renders them more hardy and healthy.

And besides, the Lord Jesus, knowing all objections, makes no exceptions, which infinite goodness and wisdom would have done, if proper in his sight, and wanted no assistance in the manner or extent of his ordinances, from the ignorant and weak, yet too bold and presumptuous reasonings of poor mortals, how high, lofty, and conceited soever they may be in their own earthly wisdom and imaginations; and thus, erring from the truth in mode, subject, and instrument of baptism, you have none at all; but are deceived yourselves, and have deceived the people. And thus, being tied down to their own practice by the secret invisible power of truth, he was totally silent; and they did not offer any further argument upon it.

Then I addressed myself more particularly to the people, and told them again they had no baptism, but were only in the practice of a relict of Popery, instead of an ordinance of Christ: For the antichristian Church of Rome, imagining children to have original sin, and that something should be done to clear them of it, they thought upon water baptism as the effectual means, which accordingly they administered: but afterwards they declined baptism, and substituted rantism, or sprinkling, first to sick or weakly children, and afterwards extended their new invention to all children; so that water baptism was wholly dropped, and John the Baptist's prediction fulfilled, "I must decrease (that is, his baptism), but he (that is, Christ and his baptism with the Holy Ghost) must increase."

And to their new invention they added several superstitious and ridiculous actions and ceremonies; they appointed godfathers and godmothers; the priest breathes in the child's face; signs him on the breast and forehead with the sign of the cross (but without any remaining mark); puts salt in his mouth, and spittle upon his ears and nostrils; and asks him (though he understands nothing) if he will renounce the devil and all his pomps; anoints him with oil on the head, shoulders, and breast; and gives him a white chrysom, and puts a hallowed candle in his hand. And the effects they ascribe to all this are, 1st, It makes the subjects thereof children of God, and remits both original and actual sin. 2dly, It infuseth justifying grace into the soul, with habits of faith, hope, and charity, and all supernatural gifts and virtues. 3dly, It makes a spiritual mark or character in the soul, which shall remain for ever, either to their great joy in heaven, or confusion in hell.

But when the Lutherans and Episcopalians in England reformed a little from Rome, they laid aside the superstitious part, except godfathers, godmothers, and the sign of the cross on the forehead, which they still retain; and ascribe the like effects to their act of sprinkling, and the ceremonies and prayers they use on that occasion: and when your predecessors,

the Presbyterians and Independents in England, reformed and dissented from them, they rejected the sign of the cross, god-fathers, godmothers, and forms of prayer used by the Church of England, as Popery and superstition : but their eyes being but once touched, they saw men as trees, not perceiving that sprinkling of infants is Popery, an antichristian invention as well as the other ; which remaining unreformed by your first reformers, hath passed unto you of this present age, by tradition, unexamined and unreformed. And so ignorant or willfully blind are your ministers, that we are here branded before you as heretics, schismatics, and deniers of the ordinances of Christ, for testifying against Popish inventions and relics.

But while I was upon this, several of the priests, very willing to cover themselves from their people, started up ; and he, and he, and he, every one had something else to offer : but my companion, being a bold man in the cause, kept them back, and told them “ their several somethings else, being foreign to the present subject, ought not to be admitted till this should be settled ; ” which concluding as above, he then challenged all the seven ministers, “ that if they would call a meeting of all the people of their seven townships to that place we would stay, if it were some days, and discourse with them on what points they pleased openly before them ; ” but they refused, and so their somethings else came to nothing.

In the mean time, while he was thus challenging them, I sat down again on the bed's foot by the old minister, and the rest of them ; and, people generally in motion, he arose and came to me, and took me by the hand, and whispering, said, “ Pray, sir, cannot you pass quietly along, and let those things alone ; for though there is little in them, the people have a belief therein ; they think well of them ; they are innocent things, and do them no harm.”

To which I answered, that they and their forefathers have said, and do say, they were conscientious in discovering and rejecting the errors and superstitions of the Papists and Episcopalians, in this and other points, and in exposing them to the people ; so are we, in our time, conscientiously concerned

for the love of truth and souls, without any other consideration, to expose to the view of mankind such errors as yet remain among them, wherever we come, and are enabled by divine grace to do it: and this matter of sprinkling of infants, though of little account in itself, yet as it is set up as an ordinance of Christ, which it is not, it is no indifferent matter, but hath been, and is of pernicious consequence to the Christian religion, the people being taught to believe they have Christian baptism, when in deed and in truth they have none at all; and therefore are set down short, and secure in a false rest, and seek no further for the true baptism of Christ; which is only by the Holy Spirit, and without the knowledge whereof no soul can be saved. And so we concluded; I arising in order to our departure, being then easy and willing to proceed on our journey, and they were likewise willing we should; for they had some things, they said, to discourse and settle among themselves respecting the affairs of their society, which had been interrupted on that occasion.

But our landlord in town having the night before informed us that the inhabitants had among them a very large flock of sheep, under one shepherd; and that they, in their turns, had the flock folded on their lands, at a certain price each night, thereby to manure them; by which they raised as much money as paid their minister, and discharged some other public expenses besides; which gave my companion occasion to say to those ministers, "that he had read in the Scriptures of some who fed themselves with the fat, and clothed with the wool, and fed not the flock; but the like of them he had never heard of before, who fed both of the flock, and the dung of the flock."

Then the minister of the town said, "he could not save ten shillings a year out of his whole income." "How!" said my companion, "eighty pounds a year salary, and a house and land worth ten pounds a year more, and not ten shillings a year to spare? thou and thy family must live more moderately." Then he offered us a glass of cider (for we were in his house), and proposed it first to me; but I refused it, say-

ing I did not so out of any prejudice or dislike to his or their persons, but lest we might seem to justify by practice what, by words, we had condemned; for they had nothing to give but what they obtained by that unlawful trade of preaching for hire.

After this I reasoned the case with the town justice, why he had ordered us into custody; seeing, by the law of England, we had liberty as well as others, and they could have no law to the contrary; and besides, we gave them no disturbance in the time of their worship, unless our being there might do it; at which they ought not to have been offended, for we came in good-will to you all, and have nothing else in us to any of you: however it was false imprisonment, I think, upon me, for I had not said anything till after I was in custody by thy command; and what I then said, could not give just offence to any. He blushed, and said, "He could justify what he had done." I replied, he could not by any just law; but that what I said was only in friendship, lest at any time hereafter he might run himself into a snare, and the country too.

And then I exhorted them all, not to be averse or ashamed to reform, though late, from those things wherein they could not justly deny but that they were amiss. And finding my antagonist, Davenport, very calm, and in a better mind than in the beginning, I took him by the hand, and bid him beware for the future how he boasted beforehand over strangers (for he had greatly vaunted and insulted us before the people when we began this contest, as before, and how he would prove us heretics; and I had advised him not to boast till he had put off his armor), and not to follow such little creatures as grasshoppers too far among their hidden places, lest the thick grass might entangle his feet, and he fall upon a stone he could not see; and added, that I now found a better part in him, and was glad it was so. But he was silent, and had not said anything from the time I had finished my argument, as aforesaid: and the invisible power of the divine everlasting truth of God being over all, we took them kindly by the hands, and they us, with mutual good wishes on both sides; and so we

parted with them in friendship, and in great peace in the Lord, to whom be the honor now and forever.

And as we went along the street from the house, there came aside of us a justice of peace, who, smiling, said, "Gentlemen, you have had a whole body of divinity to encounter to-day." I answered, "that if we had met with more humanity upon the whole, it would have been more satisfactory to us:" and, walking a little further, another justice on horseback overtook us; who, saluting us with respect, said, "he understood we were going his way, and if we pleased to stay a little at our inn he would call upon us;" to which we assented: And, at our inn, we found some of the people, to whom we further improved the text, Isaiah lv. 1, 2, 3, to the advantage of Truth, "that from thenceforth they ought not to pay any more for preaching, since they might have the wine of the kingdom, and the milk of the Word, without money or price; but if they would have for their teachers, and pay such as sold what they call the Word, and would not receive the free grace of God, for their teacher, then they would be numbered among those who heap to themselves teachers after their own hearts' lusts; having itching ears, ever itching and hearkening after "sin term of life," and such other false doctrines as please the carnal mind of fallen man: but remember, that both buyers and sellers were shut out of the bridegroom's chamber at last.

CHAPTER XVII.

KILLINGSWORTH INN, CONNECTICUT—LAND-
LORD, AND OTHERS.

1699.

FREEDOM FROM SIN.

FROM New Haven we went to Killingsworth, about twenty-eight miles, and that night at the inn had some dispute with our landlord, and the priest of the town's sons, and others, concerning freedom from sin in this life; which we maintained against them, by the sixth and eighth chapters to the Romans, and first epistle of John, where it is written, "What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid: How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? For in that he (Christ) died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. But now being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death." "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. If we confess our sins (that is, unto the Lord who convinceth us of them), he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ

his Son (that is, the Son of God) cleanseth us from all sin. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one. And every man that hath this hope (that is, to be like him and see him as he is) purifieth himself, even as he is pure. Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not: Whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. He that committeth sin is of the Devil; for the Devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed (that is the word Christ) remaineth in him. And he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

CHAPTER XVIII.

A PUBLIC DISCUSSION, WITH JOSEPH RING, AIMSBURY.

1699.

INSPIRED MINISTRY.

THE next day, being the first of the sixth month, I had a large good meeting at Aimsbury, in the house of one Samuel Weed, a friendly man; and many things were opened, through the grace of God, to the satisfaction of the people in general; but some particulars were not pleased because the testimony of Truth was against their ways and sentiments; the priest's son, and other opposers, being there.

But that which occasioned the meeting to be so large, was this: There was one Joseph Ring, a bold, confident adversary, who from time to time, had challenged Friends, not only in those parts, but also travelling Friends, to dispute with him;

but being of no good fame, they had generally declined it; upon which he had boasted greatly, and had done much hurt to some weak persons, who had been at our meetings, and under conviction, by perverting the Scriptures, and by unlearned questions; which in their weak state, they could not answer: and, about the time we had been in those parts before, this Joseph Ring had written the following letter to Jacob Moril, a Friend.

Salisbury, July 17, 1699.

I having divers times heard and discoursed those people called Quakers, and, notwithstanding I have heard many good things from them, yet there are some things they do hold which I have not received for Truth; but, on the contrary, do not believe to be true; which I would gladly have cleared up by them, at some one of their meetings. To name no more than these two:

1st. That their preachers, as they say, have an infallible spirit. 2dly. That Christ doth dwell in them; and what they mean by that, I know not, because some say one thing and some another. If you please to give me an opportunity to discourse you on these points, it will much oblige me; and give me timely notice where. I have long desired this request.

I am your friend,

JOSEPH RING.

P. S. Pray communicate these lines to the next preaching Quakers, as you have opportunity; and if they will gratify me with a discourse, let it be at your house, and I will attend it, having some notice of it beforehand.

This being about the time we were there before, he had wrote it on pretence to have a dispute with us; and we had seen it, and sent him word we were to have a meeting at that place on a day certain; and that, if he had anything to object after the meeting, we would endeavor to satisfy him; and accordingly he came (as before hinted), but went away before the meeting was over.

Now, when I returned to Hampton, as before, the Friends told me that this man had greatly boasted, when we were gone, that we durst not give him a meeting (and this Friend he had writ to had not been long convinced), lest our errors should appear to the people; making some lying excuses for his abrupt departure out of the meeting aforesaid, and declining to discourse us; and so was going on in his former course, when he thought we were gone out of the country: Therefore they desired me, if I was free, to give him a meeting; for they thought it might be of service; to which, after some consideration, I yielded, and sent him word of this meeting to be at Aimsbury, before I went to Dover the second time, as before related; so that he had full time to prepare; and to the meeting he came accordingly.

After the meeting was ended, and before I sat down, I inquired if there was one Joseph Ring in the place? He started up, seeming to be surprised, and said, Here am I. Then I called him into the place where I stood, and he came with his hat off, and his hands trembling; I looked steadily upon him, but he could not look upon me; such was the enmity of his spirit against the Truth and us.

Then I asked him, Art thou he that wrote to one of our Friends, purporting thy dissatisfaction about some things we hold in religion? He answered, "I am." What are thy objections? Upon which he pulled out a paper, and read them: "1st. Your preachers, as you say, have an infallible spirit. 2dly. That Christ doth dwell in them: and of these things I want to be satisfied." What satisfaction wouldst thou have? "I would have you demonstrate to me, and prove these things to be true, if you can; for I deny them." What demonstration or proof wouldst thou have? "From plain Scripture; which I think you cannot do."

Seeing what spirit I had to deal withal, that he was not a conscientious inquirer, but a bitter, perverse, and presumptuous opposer of the Truth, I then further asked him, Art thou a member of any society of people professing Christ? Art thou a Papist, or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, Independent,

or Baptist, or dost thou represent any of these in what thou dost? "No; but I can hear all these, and the Quakers too, and object against anything I like not in any of them."

But I suspect thou art put upon this by some others, who would not be seen in it themselves; be plain, tell me the truth, is it so? "No; it is only of myself, to be satisfied."

Then I put the question to the people: Doth this man represent you in this undertaking? Several of the chief of whom replied, "No; we will not be concerned with him." But I still suspect there is a spirit among you that would triumph in his victory, if he might have it: And then I proceeded thus: I now perceive I have one to deal with who is ignorant of Christianity, though as a seeming inquirer; I therefore begin with that point of infallibility. People, it is necessary, in this case, that you should clearly understand what is intended by an infallible spirit; We do not mean thereby such a spirit whereby to know what weather it will be to-morrow, or the good or ill fortunes of mankind in this world, or the like; but mean only the Spirit of Truth; that is, the Spirit of Christ, who is the Truth, and infallibly discovers sin in men, good and evil, right and wrong, in matters of religion; and infallibly leads into all truth, and out of all error, in all things respecting our own salvation, as the same is received, believed in, and obeyed: And not only so, but those who are made ministers of this Spirit, by its powerful working in them, may thereby, but not otherwise, infallibly declare the mind of God to the people, being themselves perfectly assured by the Spirit of the truth of what they deliver; and yet do not pretend to impose their own sense, though infallible to themselves, upon any others, but as they also are satisfied of the same truths by the same Spirit: and that as sure as men can distinguish, and be certain of outward objects, by the eye and light of the sun in the firmament of Heaven, so sure men may be in matters of a spiritual nature, by the inshining of the light of the Spirit of Christ into the understanding. But if mankind will not fully believe, follow, and obey, and chastely and attentively wait upon the Spirit in their hearts, they may, and do err,

both in doctrine and practice; and this is the cause why so many and great errors are in the world. And then I turned to my opponent, and queried, Dost thou believe that the Spirit of Christ is an infallible Spirit?

He answered, Yea. Well, then, since thou hast agreed to be determined in these points by the Holy Scriptures, I prove the Spirit of Christ is in all Christians: and, first, in his ministers: "At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you:" and, secondly, in all others: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his: and if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin." These words, any man, in the text, are indefinite terms, signifying every man, male and female; I, thou, he, she, they (pointing to the people all round), all people. And since thou hast confessed this is an infallible Spirit, and the Scriptures say every man hath it, as it is written, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," then thou and I both have the Spirit of Christ, or have once had it; and if we are not infallibly led by it in the way of Truth, we have not profited; and it is then our own fault and loss.

This much weakened him as to that point, for he could not get over these Scriptures; yet would have been at another argument, which he could not form, for the disorder and confusion he was in: It was this, "That none who deny the ordinances of Christ can be led by the Spirit of Christ: but the Quakers deny the ordinances of Christ; that is, they do not baptize with water; therefore are not guided by his Spirit." But this not being fairly stated by him, but by myself, in order to an answer before the people, I presently followed it with this: that what he meant by baptism was sprinkling of infants, which Christ never instituted; therefore we may omit it, and yet be led by the Spirit of Christ into that omission, as a testimony for him against it: and that at the same rate he would unchristian all the people there, and himself too, and likewise all who profess Christ at this day throughout the world: for none are in the practice of water baptism but a few called Baptists; who only imitate John's baptism as near as

they can, and that by their own assumption and authority, without any mission by Christ on that account: And the sprinkling of infants I maintained to be only a popish innovation and institution, and no ordinance of Christ, as I had before more fully opened it in the meeting: and added, that we do not deny, but believe, that water baptism was commanded of God to John the Baptist, and practised upon the Jews only, as an ordinance of God, in its dispensation of time, place, and subjects; but that it is superseded, and, in point of obligation, ended, by the institution and introduction of Christ's spiritual baptism with the Holy Ghost: and there is now remaining in the Church of Christ only "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. The Church which is his body; the fulness of him that filleth all in all:" and therefore his imagination, that we could not be led by the Spirit of Christ, for omitting sprinkling of infants, is unreasonable, and not a just consequence.

By this time he was weary of his undertaking and silent as to any further argument on the first point; and so we proceeded to the other, viz., "that Christ dwells in his people." To prove the absurdity, as he thought, of this, he brought that scripture, where Thomas and the apostles doubting of the bodily appearance of Christ after his resurrection, the Lord said to them, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." "Now, said he, since Christ hath flesh and bones, as we have, how can he be in every one of you?"

Upon this I desired the people to be still, and told them, this man's imagination, concerning Christ's being in his people, is very gross, carnal, and foolish, and not at all as we understand it; for we speak of the light and spirit of Christ, in the sense mentioned above in the other argument, and not of his human body: But as the body of the sun is at a great distance, in the open firmament, yet his light and influence shines over and affects all the earth, and into many thousands of houses and places at the same time; and in what proportion the light

shineth into any house, by the same proportion, is the virtue, influence, and power of the sun there dispensed : and so, and infinitely more, it is with Christ ; whose holy body though far remote from us, yet his spirit is everywhere in all hearts ; and he is “the word of God, and true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. The mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles (of whose offspring we are), which is, Christ in you, the hope of glory.”

Then, being in a great fret, he turned to the second Epistle to Timothy, the third chapter, and read on to the ninth verse inclusive, pretending to apply all that Scripture to us ; but I bid him read homeward (which the people took notice of, for they knew him to be a wicked one, on several accounts), mind those words in the text, “boasters, blasphemers, unholy, false accusers, fierce, despisers of those that are good, heady, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth,” and consider how far they may relate to thyself ; for thou dost not well in applying that Scripture to us ; we, through the grace of God, are not such : But I will tell thee to whom they belong, even to those, who, pretending a call, by tradition from the Apostles, to preach to all nations, and yet sit down in towns and particular houses and places, and there preach up, “sin term of life,” for such hire and pay as silly women, and silly men too laden with all the sins mentioned in that Scripture, will agree to pay them : and in such preachers and hearers is that other Scripture fulfilled, where it is written, “for the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but, after their own lusts, shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears : and they shall turn away their ears from the Truth, and shall be turned unto fables.”

But I have something more to say of Christ’s being in men : It is no new thing for such perverse men as this to oppose the Truth ; and no wonder it falls thus to our lot now, since the

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like objection was moved to the Apostle Paul, and by such too as had sinned, seeking a proof of Christ's speaking in him; and all the proof he thought fit to give them was, to bid them examine themselves whether they were in the faith; "prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?"

My adversary quickly turned to the place, and I bid him read it to the people; and faltering much as he read, and trembling, I noted to them how blind he was with envy and confusion; and then said to him, Now, thou art the man seeking a proof of Christ's being in us: I shall therefore, since thou dost it perversely, treat thee as a vagabond in religion, and as one having none at all: Hast thou examined thyself on that account? "Yea." Hast thou proved thyself? "Yes." What hast thou found? Then he, perceiving what the conclusion was like to be, would have evaded and shuffled: No, but, said I, give me a plain and positive answer; hast thou found Christ in thee? But he would not answer. Then I observed to the people: He confesseth, you see, that he hath examined and proved himself, but dares not say he hath found Christ in him; therefore the text is conclusive upon him, he is a "reprobate," and as such, I set him aside, as not worthy to be talked with any more in matters of Christianity. And he said no more, but, soon after, slunk away out of the company. This struck an awe upon the people; for the Lord was with me, and was my director, to his own glory; and presently came to me a young man, in a consternation, and said, "Ah, sir! I would not have been before you to-day, as that man was, for the whole world." He imagined, I suppose, that he was reprobated to all eternity.

Immediately upon this came another sober young man to me, and said, "I have heard what you said this day in the meeting; and many things I liked, which you explained beyond what I ever heard from any of your persuasion; but one thing I am not satisfied in; that which you call spiritual, I call natural." What is that, said I? "You said, that which improves sin in mankind is sufficient for salvation, provided it

be believed in, and obeyed ; which I cannot receive : For that Scripture which you mentioned will be against you ; where you said, ‘ When the Gentiles, which have not a law, do by nature, the things contained in the law ; these having not the law, are a law unto themselves ; which show the work of the law written in their hearts :’ Now,” said he, “ that which reproves sin the Gentiles had before Christ came, even from the beginning : how then can that be the Spirit of Christ, but only the law, the same that reproves men now ? It is the remains of that righteousness that was in Adam, in his state of creation, before he fell.”

I answered, that if he rightly considered that righteousness which was in Adam before he fell, it is the same that the saints and people of God now have, after they are restored out of the fall. The better to understand this, let us observe what John the Evangelist saith concerning Christ the word of God : “ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of Grace and Truth ; And of his fulness have all we received, and Grace for Grace. For the law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.”

The word, wisdom, and power of God therefore, clothed and veiled with a reasonable soul, and human flesh, is Jesus Christ, born into this world by the blessed Virgin Mary : This word is the righteousness of God, which was light and wisdom in Adam before he fell ; and by whom God judged and condemned Adam for sin, in disobeying and departing from this word, light, and life, through unbelief and actual transgression : It was by the light and life of this word, that God, the Father of all, strove with the old world to reclaim them, as by a law written in them, and against which they likewise rebelled : whereby the Almighty was provoked at length to destroy them

by the flood, save righteous Noah (who had not offended) and his family.

And, after the flood, the same law of light and life was still with and in the posterity of Noah and his family, by which they had the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of moral righteousness; and to which, being obedient, they were ruled and governed thereby for a time: It was by this divine nature in their hearts, and not by their own fallen and corrupt nature, that they did the things contained in the moral law; but, by degrees they likewise degenerated, as the old world did, and departed from the law of light, which gave them that knowledge; "Because, that when they knew God they glorified him not as God; neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and (departing from that light) their foolish hearts were darkened; and they became darkness."

And, departing from the wisdom of this divine word, they became fools, and vile idolaters; and therefore God departed from them, "and gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, and to believe and follow lies, and vile affections. And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." And though they knew at the same time, by that law of light, that the judgment of God was against them for these things; yet they did them, and took pleasure one in another therein: and therefore God left them under the power of their own sins, in this miserable state for many ages.

And, in the mean time, God made choice of Abraham and his posterity, in whom to restore this law of light and life: For the children of Israel being in bondage, and a state of slavery in Egypt, were also degenerated, and become transgressors; and therefore God added the law of moral righteous-

ness, by the mediation of Moses, his servant, written on tables of stone, by the finger of God ; which, for the transgressions of the people, were broken by the mediator of that law, on the side of the mountain before which they were : But the mercy of God returned unto them, and he commanded Moses to prepare other tables of stone, on which to write the same law : which thing, though matter of fact, is also an allegory : For the law of light and life, being written in the hearts of men from the beginning, was broken and blotted out by their sins ; but the Most High, in love and mercy to lost and degenerate mankind, provided a more excellent mediator than Moses, and of a better and more powerful law ; which I may farther speak of in the sequel ; And though this law was given by Moses, by the command of God, and the people received it as reasonable and good ; yet, being inwardly departed from the light and life of the divine word, that outward law could not give them life, but condemnation ; for they could not keep it in the state they were in ; and therefore the Almighty, in justice and mercy, restored to them a manifestation of the same word, and light, and life in him. This is the eternal word and commandment of God preached by Moses in that day unto Israel in the wilderness, of whom he saith, “ This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee ; neither is it far off : It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it ? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it ? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayst do it.”

In this manner was Christ preached by Moses many ages before he came in the flesh ; and after he did so come, was preached in the same way by the Apostle Paul ; for the same that Moses preached as the commandment and the word, the apostle calleth Christ, and the word of faith which they preached ; and which they knew no more after the flesh, after they had thoroughly preached him come in the flesh, but con-

sequently as he is the "word of God, light of the world, divine Truth, and quickening Spirit."

And again: "All Israel did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink" (for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ): and this is also the same of which he speaketh, where he saith, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

And to make this necessary point yet plainer, observe, "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified."

But the Jews also rebelled against the light, Spirit, and word of God, so preached unto them by Moses aforesaid; and therefore the law without could not save them: yet the righteous and most merciful Creator did not forsake them for ever, but opened a door of hope, by his gracious promises aforehand, that they might believe and obey when they came to pass; and therefore saith, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; but this shall be the covenant, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people." Again: "I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me."

And the Almighty, of his superabounding mercy and kindness, remembered likewise the apostate and benighted Gentiles, promising unto them also the same law and covenant of light, by the same Mediator: "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the

Gentiles. And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth."

Now, this covenant, and the messenger thereof, is the same, whom the Most High describes aforehand; "to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." To the Jew he saith, "therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel." And to both Jews and Gentiles he saith, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles." This is he, of whom it was said, seven hundred and forty years before he came, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders." This is he who spake unto the Father in spirit, saying, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not; but a body hast thou prepared me." This is he who received that holy body of human flesh, with a reasonable soul, the complete nature of man. This is the Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; who, by command of the Father, wrought all those wonders attributed to him in the Holy Scriptures.

This is he who offered himself upon the cross, at Jerusalem of old, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. This is the light of the Gentiles, in whom they are to believe and trust: the Mediator of the new covenant, not of works, but of light and life from God; not that which is natural, but eternal. This is the true witness of God; the finger and power of God, by which he writeth and restoreth the law of righteousness; the law of the Spirit of life, which makes free from the law of sin and death; and which the law without, given by Moses, could not do. This is the law and word of life that was in Adam before he fell.

This is the divine, immortal, and unchangeable Truth of God, which "reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment;" that reproves and manifests sin in all

mankind : And, for want of faith, love, and obedience to this divine law, light, and word of God, the faithless and disobedient world remains in condemnation by that word : for till they do so, both Jews and Gentiles remain, and are concluded under sin : As saith the Son of God, "He that believeth on him is not condemned ; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life ; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life ; but the wrath of God abideth on him."

And as the mystery of iniquity began to work in the days of the apostles, so there were many antichrists, even then in the world ; which were neither Jews nor Heathens, but professors of the name of the true God, and of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world ; and they went out from the apostles, and their doctrine, and from the teaching of the grace and Spirit of God ; the holy anointing which teacheth all things : They turned their ears from the truth, and gave ear to fables ; heaping to themselves teachers after their heart's lusts, having itching ears : They went back under the law of types, which was ended by the law of liberty, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

And, as great is the mystery of iniquity, it hath so wrought in the Christian world, that the same that is so called, is degenerated as the old world, and as the old Gentiles, the heathen and apostate Jews, and become antichristian, and in utter darkness and confusion : They once, in the days of old, spake one language, from the one word and voice of God, speaking divine wisdom, and the knowledge of the one true God, and of Jesus Christ the Son of God, in every living soul ; but by their apostacy from the divine light and Spirit of God, and from his wisdom, grace, and power, they followed their own spirit and wisdom, which is darkness, into many evil inventions ; and multiplied their superstitions, and became misera-

ble idolaters, worshipping a piece of bread for their God, and wallowing in all the sins of the Gentiles and Heathens of old : So that their language, as at Babel, is confounded, and they are no more one, but scattered, and shall unite no more, till they return by him from whom they are fallen ; to the covenant of God, even that true light of his Son, " which lighteth every man that cometh into the world ;" of whose fulness, all those who now believe in him, and behold his glory, as of the only and first-begotten Son of God, have now received, as they did of old, and grace for grace. " And this grace bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men ; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. By this grace we are saved, through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God." From all which proofs it is plain that the same that reproves sin in man is the Spirit of Christ, the Word of God ; which in the beginning was the light of men ; and it is not natural but spiritual, and the mystery that lay hid in the Gentiles from the foundation of the world, though they were darkness, and this light had not been comprehended by them. During the time that passed on these subjects, the people were very sober ; and the young man being deeply under the effects of a wrong education and tradition, replied, " That faith in this light cannot be sufficient ; for, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven."

That is true ; but seeing we must be born again, we cannot do that of ourselves : there is none can do it for us but God : and he doth that great work by the word of his wisdom and power, which is Christ, the light of the intellectual world ; the Sun of righteousness and glorious luminary of the mind : and we are to believe in him, that we may be born again of him, who is the second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, the quickening Spirit ; as it is written, " While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light. And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ." But it reasonably followeth, that if no faith in this divine light, then no children of God through him who is that light and

elect seed of God ; and if not children, then not heirs of God, nor of his promises ; which are all unto this divine seed, and all true in him : And if we do not believe in the word of God, we cannot please him, nor be created anew unto good works by him ; which are indispensable to every child of God, as the evidence of that faith, and work of regeneration in the mind ; “and to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Christ testifieth of himself that he is “the light of the world,” and the apostles of Christ were sent by him, to testify that God is light, and to turn mankind “from darkness to that light ; from the power of Satan unto God :” from that darkness and ignorance which had covered the earth, and from that gross darkness which had covered the people, unto the Son of God, and unto the Father by him.

So, then, in order to our being born from above, there must first be faith in Christ, as he is the divine light, and second covenant of God : And the first work of this light in man, toward that faith, is the manifestation, reproof, and condemnation of sin in the heart, mind, and understanding of man : “For all things that are reprovèd are made manifest by the light ; for (after the manner of men) whatsoever doth make manifest is light.”

Thus the testimony of the Holy Scriptures concur clearly to the proof of this most needful doctrine, that the reprover of sin, in the mind and understanding of man, is not man himself ; neither is it the evil one, who tempts man to sin ; for then he would be both tempter and reprover, and divided against himself ; and even that way his kingdom and power could not stand : But it is the divine light and Spirit of Christ, that sin may be manifested, reprovèd, become exceeding sinful, and condemned ; and, through faith in the manifestor and reprover, be forsaken, pardoned, remitted, and, by the work of the Holy Spirit of Christ, fully removed, and the minds of mankind purified, and made lucid as the day, and formed into light in the Lord.

In the conclusion of this, I felt the weight removed from

off my spirit, and the love and goodness of Truth to arise toward the young man; and he took me kindly by the hand, and said, "he had other points to have discoursed, but would now leave them." But I believe the main objection was removed, and the mark hit; for he departed cheerful: and some others also, who seemed to have had something to say, when they had heard these things, were silent; and all ended in peace, to the glory of the Lord; whose service and honor, and common good of mankind, through the grace of God, we only aim at in all these things.

The meeting being over, there came a woman (being introduced by some women Friends), and told me "she was much troubled with a spirit of blasphemy, which often uttered in her blasphemies against God; and that she was vexed with it, and abhorred herself because thereof; though she no way, in her desires, assented thereto." I replied, that the Lord often suffered such to be tempted, in whom he purposed to make known his power; but it is no sin to be tempted, for Christ was tempted, and yet without sin; but Satan's end in these great blasphemies (which were of his own uttering in her imagination) was this, that when he had wearied and weakened her, he would try to make her believe she had sinned against God, and so bring her to despair; but I exhorted her to be still, resist him in faith toward Christ, and not join with him, and he would fly and vanish; and she went away easy.

CHAPTER XIX.

ABRAHAM PARKER, KILLINGSWORTH.

1699.

SINLESS STATE IN THIS LIFE.

THE next day we went on to Killingsworth; where I and my companion had had some discourse with some persons as we went into New England, and were scarce now alighted till our landlord began to tell us, "That he had reported to their minister what had then been discoursed; and that he inclined to confer with us on the same things, if we should happen to return that way; and asked if we were willing to go speak with him on that account?"

We gave our landlord this answer, that we were then weary; but if their minister would call his people together in the morning, to their meeting-house, we would there meet him at the ninth hour: which, when he heard, he began to flag, and said, "he would not send him that word, unless we would write it." And accordingly I wrote to their minister thus, viz.:

Killingsworth, 21st Six Month, 1699.

FRIEND ABRAHAM PEARSON:

Forasmuch as some of us, the people called, in scorn, Quakers, passing this way some time ago, and lodging at the Sign of the Hart here in Killingsworth, the landlord, with other persons, perceiving what we were, moved some discourse concerning certain points respecting the Christian religion; viz., freedom from sin in this life, and baptism; and they not being able, as we thought, to resist the Scriptures and arguments we urged against them, in defence of what we hold therein, I think our landlord, if not also some of the rest, told

us, that though they could not, yet their minister (meaning thyself) was able to confute the errors, as they called them, which we hold therein : Whereupon we, or one of us, replied, that if their minister would convene his people, or a competent number of the more discreet of them, we would meet him, to hear and answer his arguments against us in those points wherein we differ from him and them : And we, returning this way this evening, lodge at the same inn, and are willing to defend the principles and doctrines we hold, and to meet thee to-morrow morning, about the ninth hour, at thy meeting-house, provided thy sober neighbors and people be there convened : In the meantime desiring thy speedy answer, we remain thy loving Friends. Signed, on behalf of myself and the other two, by

THO. STORY.

This being sent him, he returned this verbal answer : “ That we should be welcome to his house, or he would come to our inn ; but thought the meeting-house not convenient : ” And, in the morning, about the eighth hour, came to our quarters ; and being seated in a chair when we were absent, I, coming in before my companion, sat down by him ; and after interchange of some civilities, in our different ways of expression, and a pause of silence, he took out the letter, and began to move about the contents of it ; viz., “ Freedom from sin in this life, and baptism ; ” the points proposed to be conferred upon.

In the first place I asked him a previous question, viz., Whether he appeared there as a minister of Christ, or only as a minister to a particular people there ? But, perceiving I would put him upon his proof if he came as a minister of Christ, he evaded that, and moved the other, about a sinless state in this life ; and, in the mean time, came in Samuel Jennings and my companion Roger Gill, the Presbyterian minister, having several of his hearers with him ; and all the people in those parts were generally of that sect : Then I

moved for a state of the first question in writing, which was settled thus :

“Whether it be an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that mankind may be free from sin, whilst living in this world, or on this side the grave?”

“Abraham Pearson assumes to prove, it is an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that man may be free from sin whilst living in this world, or on this side the grave.”

The first question, thus stated and agreed upon, he began his proof after this manner : “That which God hath not, at any time, promised unto man, we have no ground to believe is attainable by man ; but God hath not, at any time, promised that man shall be free from sin in this life, therefore we ought not to look for it.”

I replied, Friend, thou art to prove thy affirmative assumption in the first place, viz., That it is an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that man can be free from sin whilst living in this world, or on this side of the grave ; and here thou only offers a subtilty to evade it, viz., that God hath not, at any time, promised that men shall be free from sin in this life : The question is not what God hath promised or not promised ; but whether it be an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that mankind can be free from sin in this life, or on this side the grave ? And thou hast assumed upon thyself to prove, that it is such an error so to believe ; which thy other assertion, viz., That God hath not so promised, &c., doth not at all prove.

“No,” said he, “but you shall not draw me from my argument, and run away to other things, as your manner is ; I will hold to my point, till you prove that ever God promised to make men free from sin in this life.”

I returned, that I am not going from any point in question ; nor have I said that God never promised so : but thou hast assumed, in the first place, to prove it is an error to believe as in the state of the question ; and now, in the second place,

asserted negatively, that God never promised such a freedom. I insist therefore upon thy proof of thy assumption in the state of the question, and of thy assertion that God never so promised : for thy asserting the same thing twice over in different terms, is no proof ; so that thou art still to be held to thy first point.

The people all this time were very silent, and Truth over them ; and here I held their minister, his own people not looking upon what he had said to be any proof of what he had undertaken ; as it was no other than a subtle invention to exclude the plain testimony of Holy Scripture in the case.

Then Samuel Jennings said, "That the greatest promise God ever made to mankind, was to send his Son Christ, who had preached perfection to the people, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.' Therefore we have ground to expect it."

But the priest having assumed upon himself to prove, as in the state of the question, I insisted upon his proof, not thinking it proper yet to offer proof on our side ; and my companion, in the mean time, called out "keep him to the first point."

Then he brought forth his Scriptures for "sin term of life," viz., "for there is not a just man upon the earth that doth good and sinneth not."

I answered, This was writ in the time of the law, and must intend a legal justice, as "by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." But to be evangelically just is another thing ; they are sanctified through faith in Christ Jesus, and by him also they are justified and saved from their sins, "by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost."

Then he advanced their common plea for "sin term of life," as being wrote in the time of the Gospel, viz., "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us," and there he stopped, being rather willing to stop the mouth of Truth, than that his false doctrine should be exposed, and the strongholds of sin and Satan pulled down, and demolished.

I replied, That the apostle began there with men in their natural state, as children of the first Adam, and saith, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." But though we have sinned, must we continue therein? No; for "if we confess our sins (to him who convinceth us of them in our hearts), he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. And if we walk in the light, as he is in the light (that is, in God, verse 5), we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God cleanseth us from all sin. And he that sayeth he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked;" which cannot be in sin: for he never sinned, nor was ever any sin in him: and he is "separated from sinners." The sins of the little children are forgiven for his name's sake. The Fathers have known him who is from the beginning: and the young men are strong, and the word of God abideth in them, and they have overcome the wicked one. Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. He that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.

"Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God: And whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed (the word of God) remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. And as he is, so are we in this world;" and if so, then not in sin.

Again, the Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, preacheth the same doctrine: he first proves both Jews and Gentiles all under sin once (and if they had not sinned, there had not been any need of a Saviour to save them from their sins); and then preacheth salvation, both to Jews and Gentiles, by Christ, and freedom from sin, by him, even in this life; where he saith, "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: How

shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness; for when ye were servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness, but now being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life: But if we go on in sin, we shall die in our sins; and if we die in our sins, whither he is gone we cannot come. But the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, saith the apostle, personating every true member of the Church of Christ, "hath made me free from the law of sin and death." A glorious liberty indeed!

Then said the priest, but most perversely, as an enemy of all righteousness, "Yea, that is true; we are to be made free from sin, but not in this life." Then Samuel Jenings asked the priest, since he had acknowledged a freedom from sin, but not in this life, "When, where, and how must it be effected, since no unclean thing can enter the kingdom?"

To which he replied, "We are drove to a necessity to confess, it is not done in heaven; and in this life it cannot be: Therefore it must be at the very point of death, as the soul departeth from the body."

Well, then, said I, let us see thee split a hair, and show what distance there is between the utmost point of time, and the beginning of eternity: for if done in the last point of time, it is in this life; and if not till its entrance into eternity, then the unclean thing enters the kingdom; which is already granted cannot be. Where then is this freedom? Which question Samuel Jenings pressing upon him, he then affirmed, "The soul is cleansed from sin in its way between earth and heaven; for there is, (said he) a considerable space between."

Then said Samuel Jenings, "This is such a little Presbyterian purgatory, as I never heard of before." And though the preacher had hitherto seemed to have command of his passion; yet upon this he grew very angry: For we then exposed him to his own people.

If the soul were freed from sin after it departs from the body, in its ascending from earth to heaven (speaking in an

outward sense, according to his apprehension), it is still in time, and on this side the grave; unless he can demonstrate, that the body is always interred before the soul is fully ascended; and if the soul be fully entered into heaven before the body be interred, then there is a freedom from sin on this side the grave: But this only to the man in his own way.

Being reduced to this condition before his people, he then began to accuse us falsely: That we came from Rome, &c. Upon which, and having all along observed his false glosses, evasions, false covers, and perversions of Scripture, together with his false accusations before the people, I returned the accusation upon him as a lie; and that raised, or rather brought forth, the pre-conceived wrath of some of his hearers, and they gave us ill and threatening language: but we being over them in the Truth, I insisted that it is the language of Truth to call all things by their proper names, and according to their nature; and that which in itself is a lie, Truth cannot call it otherwise: And that if it were harsh and unmannerly, in their sense, to turn his false accusation upon him as a lie, what could they think of him who was the author of it, since the insinuation, and what was couched under it, touched our lives, if it had been true? And so we stood over them in the dominion of Truth, as to the point discussed; but as to the other, of Baptism, it was not much entered upon; For they grew so angry, that one of them said to Samuel Jenings, "he deserved to have his head broke with his own cane;" the man, at the same time, having a naked knife in his hand.

Samuel replied, "they had been formerly at greater mischief than that (meaning the hanging of our Friends in New England), and he perceived they wanted no will for as bad at this day."

The old priest having his members now pretty well fitted to his evil purpose, began to keckle and laugh; and setting his rustics to mock us, said, he would tell us a story of a merchant in London; intending thereby to raise levity, and so take off all sense of what had been said (for there were several of the people very sober and attentive all the time): But I

sharply reproved him, and said, that he manifested himself, to all that had eyes, in a thing ill becoming his gray hairs, and much worse, his profession, and least of all the matter in hand, touching the everlasting life or death of mankind: and so utterly suppressed his jest, and crushed it as a cockatrice in the shell; and then summed up the whole matter in short and noted to the people, that touching this point he had undertaken to prove, viz., to believe freedom from sin in this life, to be inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, he could not; and we had adduced several plain, applicable, and unanswerable texts of Scripture, proving that freedom from sin in this life, is the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and had left the Truth over his head.

By this time it was about mid-day; and we were willing to depart, and our antagonist as desirous we should; for he sweated much and often sighed deeply; which gave me occasion to think he argued against his own understanding: Yet we had a short touch on Baptism, or rather rantism; for I held him to sprinkling infants; which though no baptism, yet being their practice instead of baptism, they must be determined by it: and accordingly I informed the people in short, that they were, and are, all wrong about baptism, both as to manner and subject; the manner being a washing in water (not sprinkling with water), by wading into it, or being immersed therein, or dipped all over; and the subjects were adult persons, capable of believing and being taught in the mysteries of religion, which infants are not; that the whole ceremony is extra scriptural, and only a Popish invention and relicts, and presumptuous imposition of Antichrist: and so we left them.

In the mean time came the priest, his wife, several justices of the peace, two lawyers, and many people; who rushing in, it occasioned some unsettledness in the meeting, and altered the state of it, so that the people were not, for some time, in a condition to hear with attention; and therefore I stood a little while silent, finding the operation of the word of Truth to abate, as to that matter. After which I exhorted them to be still not only as to their bodies, but also their minds, that haply they

might reap some advantage by what they might hear: and then I began to recount, in short, what points I had gone through before they came, to the end they might perceive the entire scope of my testimony: And then the power of Truth began again to work, and therein I quickly came over both priest and people in myself; and the people were generally sober and attentive, which made the priest very uneasy: And at length as I came to treat of baptism, he fell into a passion, and interrupted me; but I kept my authority and matter, and went on.

That which seemed to touch him most, was about sprinkling of infants, when I told the people it is extra scriptural, an antichristian and Popish innovation, he then fired upon me with an objection; but I bid him be silent, for our meeting was not ended; and he forbore till I had done: and then Aaron Atkinson concluded the meeting in prayer; upon which the priest and justices went out:

The meeting being ended, they came in again, and the priest was big with his objection, which he had conceived from a mistake of a text of Scripture. It was thus: "You," said he, "have spoken much against water baptism, as if it were not obligatory at this day; but the Scripture saith, 'Unless a man be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot see the kingdom of God.'"

I passed by his mistake for the present in misrendering that Scripture, and said, There is no necessity to believe, that the Lord Jesus spake then of elementary water; but as there is a twofold operation of the Holy Spirit, the one compared to water, which is for the washing away of the pollution of sins past before conviction, and the other to fire, for destroying the root of it in us; as it is prophesied of Christ, "He is like a refiner's fire, and fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver," &c. Again, the baptism of Christ makes thorough work; for his fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather the wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable

fire." And in another place it is written, that Christ said, "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water: but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive," &c.

The Spirit of Christ is thus compared both to water and fire, and their different effects and operations, to express the baptism of Christ and work of regeneration, as begun, carried on, and perfected by him: and it is also written, "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit."

Then I asked the priest, that since the Spirit of Christ is thus compared to fire as well as water, why he did not think elementary fire was to be used in baptism as well as water? To which he was silent.

I having entered thus far into the argument for the sake of the people, Aaron Atkinson told them, "there was no such Scripture as their priest had alleged; for it is, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit," and not "baptized with water and the Spirit;" which the priest could not deny; and then the people saw him wrong.

The priest being foiled in this, he recurred to the text in Matthew, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and alleged from hence, "that these words, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c., show that teaching and baptizing is one act."

Thou sayest well, said I; we have all along maintained that against our adversaries; why, then, dost thou oppose us? for if teaching and baptizing be the same act in the sense of that text, water baptism, as to any command from thence, is excluded. He then saw his mistake, and was ashamed; and many of his people were so too, and went out of the room.

At length he pulled a book out of his bosom, and would have shown us what his author had said about baptism: He was not willing to show the title or the author's name, but I perceived it was the "Snake in the Grass;" and then I exposed

it as a very false piece, and Charles Lesly, the author, as a forger; and that his book had been fully answered, and his arguments repelled by one of our Friends, Joseph Wyeths. And then I advised the priest to be baptized himself, if he thought water baptism was necessary, or else he had no right to dispute about it; for sprinkling is not baptism.

To this he replied, "that though they did not use washing in water, but sprinkling, that ought not to be alleged as a ground for us to reject the whole."

I answered, we have sufficient authority without that, to decline all water baptism, as no ordinance of Christ; but it must needs be very perverse in any to contend with others for a necessity of anything in religion, which themselves will not practise. By this time most of the people were gone out; and after some more discourse about tithes, and such preachers, as, in times past, preached for pieces of bread and handfuls of barley, as some now for money, some for corn, and some for tobacco, we all went out of the house; and I then exhorted the priest to give way to the manifestation of truth in his own conscience, and it would lead him out of all error and evil things; and so we parted in a friendly manner. A justice of peace and a lawyer stayed longer, and we had some more discourse with them on some other points: We informed them further concerning our principles, and particularly of our sentiments concerning human government: Of our loyalty and inoffensive demeanor under all governments, in any form, giving always either active or passive obedience; and that where the former could not be yielded, when anything contrary to our religion and consciences, and duty to God, was commanded or required by any law, then the latter was never a-wanting, nor refused, though to the loss of all.

Upon this an attorney-at-law asserted "that all men were bound in conscience to give active obedience to all laws made by the legislature of any government where they lived," but offered no reason for his opinion.

I answered, that according to this, all the faithful primitives were wrong, who never complied with the laws of the heathens

made against them and their religion; but suffered cruel deaths in confessing the true God, and the Lord Jesus, especially under the two emperors, in the tenth general persecution; and thereby he condemned all the Protestants, and others, as worthy of those punishments inflicted upon them by Papists, on account of their religious sentiments, being contrary to their national and ecclesiastical laws; to which those sufferers could not, because of their known duty to God and Christ, give any active, but only passive obedience and non-resistance, though inflicted by force of the statute “*de heretico comburendo*,” whereby many of the people of the nation, who were then of the same religion of the present National Church, were destroyed: And if they ought to have given active obedience to that, and such other persecuting laws, then their blood was upon their own heads, being justly shed for their disobedience; which would be a very severe and unchristian opinion, and therefore to be rejected; and being attended with such consequences, thou would do well to lay it aside and entertain it no more.

CHAPTER XX.

——— SEXTON, STONINGTON.

1704.

THE SACRAMENTS.

ON the 25th of the First month, 1704, we set forward, and, that night, lodged at one Sexton's, at Stonington, and in the evening he began some discourse about their sacraments, asking our reasons for the disuse of them; upon which I gave him several, viz.: The bread and cup being incidents of the Jewish passover, and typical of Christ himself, who is the

Antitype, and the true living bread which comes down from heaven, as soon as men experience him to be so in their hearts, all obligations cease as to our continuance any longer in the figure, as it is written, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye show the Lord's death till he come."

Now, the question arises, What is meant by his coming? We understand it of his second, inward, or spiritual coming, without sin unto salvation, in all them who believe and wait for him, in all ages: And this, we, through the goodness and mercy of God, do experience to be true, that he is come in that blessed and saving manner in us; and therefore the obligation of the use of the bread and cup, the sense in which ye now use it, being at an end to us, we disuse it: And, moreover, as it was the Jews' Passover, never incumbent on us the Gentiles, and fulfilled by Christ, it is not obligatory upon us. And besides, as the apostle saith, "as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come:" Seeing then all those who continue in these shadows, are only showing forth his death until he come, they bear witness against themselves, that they are yet dead unto him, and that he is not yet so come unto them, unto this day; and being ignorant of his life, they are not risen with him, but are yet in their sins, and in a state of death. Besides, we do not find that this was a command to all the disciples of Christ at that time, or that any more were then with him but the twelve apostles; much less can it be supposed extensive to all who should come to be his disciples afterwards.

And as it was the last passover, and fulfilled by him, when he gave them the cup, he said, "Take this and divide it among yourselves;" but did not command them to give it, or the bread, to others. And further, as the Apostle Paul was a true minister of Christ, to all necessary intents, not one whit behind the chief of the apostles, and yet was not sent by Christ to baptize with water, but to preach the Gospel; so likewise, though we, in our day, have a dispensation of the same Gospel, in some degree committed unto us of the Lord, to preach his inward coming, yet we have no commandment

from him to administer either such bread or cup, or water baptism in any form; nor do we believe that any others have it at this day: and therefore we justly and reasonably decline either to administer or receive them.

And as he could not oppose us herein himself, he brought out a Bible printed with notes; and having read the annotations on the last chapter of Matthew, about baptism and sprinkling, they appeared so impertinent that himself would not assert the truth of them, or insist upon it; but, after some time, was silent on the point, I having proved to him that there is but one only baptism remaining in the Church of Christ, and that is his baptism by his Holy Spirit.

In some further discourse I had occasion to speak of their ministers, and how they were made and sent by one another only, and not by Christ; and, though called by the people, not always by their inclinations, but by the subtlety and management of those ministers, and their aiders, accomplices, and parties; and their first view and general aim was to live upon them; and that when they had places, they would exchange them for better, without any regard to the people: though they commonly deceive the weak and ignorant with an unreasonable pretence of a mission from Christ, by the words in Matthew, where he said unto the eleven disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," &c. And though it doth not appear that the Lord ever commanded those men-made ministers, yet they run, and, according to the extent of the words of Christ and his apostles, pretend a call from him to preach unto all nations, and to baptize them; though they commonly take up at the next town that will entertain them for hire and pay, and baptize none, but only sprinkle little children, who do not need it, nor does it them any good at all: So that they do not answer their pretended call in any respect.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BASSETT, ROCHESTER.

1704.

WAR.

THAT evening we went to Sippycaan (otherwise called Rochester), and lodged with our friend Aaron Barlow, and, next day, had a meeting there: It was small and hard, but ended well, and, after the meeting, we went to Sandwich, and lodged with our friend Daniel Allen. That night, though late, came to us one Captain William Bassett, a man of good temper and understanding as a man, the greatest disputant in those parts for the Presbyterians, against all others, and (in the state he was in) even against the Truth itself, according to the present dispensation of it to his people, having often disputed with Friends concerning war and fighting; who being come, at that time, to see a copy of the judgment against the young men before mentioned (for not training nor going to war against the French and Indians), I took occasion to say, that Christians ought not to fight, or learn war. And that whereas God hath said by his prophets, "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: For, out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks:

Nation shall not lift up sword against nation ; neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord." Now all this the law of the government of Boston contradicts, where it saith in express words, "All above sixteen, and under sixty years of age, shall appear in arms, and be trained up in war." And upon these Scriptures I observe, that the nations, or any of them, so long as they will continue to reject the Lord Jesus Christ, the true light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world (in which the house of Jacob, the true Church, walketh), and follow their own corruptions, lusts, and laws made by themselves, to support them therein, they will, from age to age, go on in war and destruction one of another, as well after the coming of Christ in the flesh as before : Yet the true disciples of Christ, his Church (which is not national), are those who speak the language of those prophecies in their actions, as well as words and doctrine : they will not fight now in defence of the religion taught by Christ and his prophets and apostles, more than his disciples in the days of his flesh would fight for his person ; fighting, in its root and nature, being opposite to Christ and the end of his coming, who teacheth us to love enemies, and not to destroy them, and "came not to destroy the lives of men, but to save them." The language of his followers, the saved of the Lord, is, "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. And, O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord. For all people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God, for ever and ever. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of the Lamb."

And at the same time we had some further conference about justification, and sanctification, and freedom from sin in this life ; wherein I informed him, that the Lord's way of sanctification and justification, is to make men just who were not so, and holy who were before defiled by sin : As it is said, "Either

make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before prepared, that we should walk in them. And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him who created him." The Lord Jesus Christ came not to save men in their sins (that cannot be), but from them, and all the dreadful effects of them, and to bring them "into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

The substance of all these things the captain heard with good temper and solidity, and seemed pretty well satisfied; and I heard he spake afterward in commendation of that discourse, unto several persons of his own persuasion, on sundry occasions: But before we parted, I said unto him, that I should be glad to see some of the more moderate sort of their magistrates and ministers, and to discourse with them about religious matters, for I suspect we are not rightly understood in divers points of religion by them; which, by the sequel, he bore in mind, though at that time he said not much to it.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROLLON-GOD COTTON, A PRIEST.

1704.

A HOLY LIFE, THE MINISTRY, ETC.

ON the 22d we rested at Sandwich; and next day (being the first of the week), had a meeting there, which was large. And here I shall note a passage with the priest of that place.

Having had some occasional conference with Captain Bassett, one of the justices of the peace of that place, as above

hinted, a friend told him on the seventh day before our last meeting, that I purposed to call at his house on the 24th, about nine in the morning, which I accordingly did, where I found assembled a great many Friends and others; for my intention of calling occasionally being known, they on both sides expected a dispute, of which I had no notion or apprehension: But soon after we had entered the captain's house, and drank a glass of cider, he made a short speech to me, in the audience of as many as could throng into the room, to this purpose, viz., "Sir, you told me upon our last conference, that you could be glad to see some of the more moderate sort of our magistrates and ministers, and to discourse with them on religious subjects; here are several of our magistrates present (pointing to them), and this gentleman (pointing to one in the room) is our teacher."

To this I answered, by giving them a relation upon what occasion and subjects, the captain and I had been discoursing; and that what I had said concerning their magistrates and ministers, was with respect to them at large in the province, as I might have occasion, and not in that place only, my inclinations being to endeavor to persuade them to more moderation concerning our Friends, now in the time of war, and to give them a more distinct knowledge of our principles, than I perceived they hitherto had; but had not any thought of such a gathering; that besides there was only one of their ministers there: However, seeing so many people had heard already what subjects the captain and I had been upon, I was willing we should resume them in their audience. And upon my mentioning that point of freedom from sin in this life, their minister (whose name was Rollon-God Cotton) answered, that "it is the duty of every true Christian to aspire after freedom from sin in this life."

I replied, that seeing he acknowledged that to be a duty, he must of consequence, own it possible; and that therefore there was no need to say any more about it.

To this he replied, "It is said 'Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy:' and yet who will presume to say he

is as holy as God?" Then said I, the Scripture saith, "Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy, for I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep my statutes and do them: I am the Lord which sanctify you." Seeing therefore it is the Lord who sanctifies, his work is perfect, he doth it fully; and what God hath sanctified, let no man call common or unclean. And God's people (who are so indeed) are a holy people: As it is written, "For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God." "The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth. The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people (for ye were the fewest of all people); but because the Lord loved you," &c. I added further, that we spake not of degrees of holiness, as comparing man with God therein, otherwise than the Lord himself hath done: But as God is absolutely perfect, and infinite in all essential attributes, moral and divine; so there is a holiness applicable to man as a perfect creature of God: "For in the beginning God created man in his own image, in righteousness and true holiness," and yet we do not say that man was equal therein to God. Even so, man may be truly restored by God, through Christ, to the same holiness, and may, and ought to confess it, to the honor of God, without any presumption: seeing that since the fall of man, and before the coming of Christ in the flesh, God hath thus said to his people, "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" which the Lord would not have said, if like holiness with his own had not, through his word, been attainable by them. And so likewise of God's righteousness, as well as his holiness, where it is said, "Little children, let no man deceive you: He that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous."

Upon this their minister was silent; but the justices and people being desirous that some other points should be moved and debated, Captain Bassett having great sway among them, proposed that we should adjourn from his house to their meeting-house (near by) where I might (if I could) make out the matter more fully, with what else might occur, before the

people. To this the minister was averse; but, the captain being seconded by the rest of the justices, the minister was overruled, and to the meeting-house we went, and the people followed us. It was some time before their minister pitched upon a point, upon which to oppose us; but at last (notwithstanding what had passed before) he moved this question (as thinking himself strongest in that point, in the common opinion of the people, into which the priests of every sort have deceived them), viz. :

“Whether there be a state of freedom from sin attainable in this life?” and I being willing, as the Lord might enable me, to make our doctrine in that point plain to the people, assumed the affirmative, and my opponent assumed the negative.

The affirmative being mine, I was to prove it; and accordingly began and proceeded after the manner of the Apostles Paul and John: first to prove, that all men commonly sin in this life in a state of nature, or are liable thereto by temptation; and then, that the offers of salvation are made by God the Father unto all mankind in Christ the Son of God; and that whosoever does accept of those offers in God’s way and time, may not only be saved at last, but freed from sin in this present world.

The Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, proves the Gentiles (of whose lineage are all nations, the Jews excepted) to be sinners, by breaking the law of God written in their hearts, whereby they became conscious of sin, and guilty before God. And the Jews likewise, according to the Psalms of David, where it is written concerning them, “There is none righteous, no not one: There is none that doth good, no not one.” And again, “God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all:” and again, “The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.”

The apostle having thus proved all to be sinners, both Jews and Gentiles, he proceeds to preach salvation to all by the Lord Jesus Christ, saying, “Being justified freely by his Grace

(which hath appeared unto all men) through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God." Which faith must be obtained in this life or never.

The same apostle, in another place, proceeds to set forth freedom from sin in this life likewise by the same Saviour, saying, "As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. This free gift is the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men, teaching us (especially all who believe therein) that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: That where sin once abounded, grace might much more abound: That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: How shall we who are dead unto sin live any longer therein? Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; Death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness; for when ye were the servants of sin ye were free from righteousness: but now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." Again, after this apostle had brought this doctrine of freedom from sin in this life to a period, under the similitude of the death and resurrection of Christ, and thereby established the certainty of it, he resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the seventh

chapter, under another similitude, and brings it to the like conclusion; "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins (or passions) which were (discovered) by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto Death; but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead (or being dead to that) wherein we were held, that we should serve (God) in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. That ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead (who is without sin) that we should bring forth fruit unto God." They being dead unto sin and the carnal mind, which is enmity against God, in which (a state of nature) they had been held, they then became as pure virgins, espoused unto him who had died for them in divine, pure, and matchless love (who cannot be joined to any unclean thing) in the new covenant of everlasting love, light, and life eternal, that they, by him, might bring forth fruit unto God; which is holiness, righteousness, Truth, and peace, and not sin or evil.

And a third time the apostle proceeds, and insists upon the same doctrine, and finally establisheth it unalterably the same way: First, setting forth the power of sin in the flesh (notwithstanding the moral precepts of the law, which proves insufficient until we come unto Christ, or until his power be inwardly revealed, by whom alone full freedom and deliverance from sin in this life, and eternal salvation from the wages thereof in another world, is come), the apostle speaking concerning himself and the Church of Christ at that time, and the state they had been in before they believed in him, saith, "when we were in the flesh the motions of sins did work in our members," as above: That the knowledge of sin comes by the law: That sin brings spiritual death; and being discovered by the commandment becomes exceeding sinful: That the law is spiritual, but man in his natural and fallen state, is carnal, a slave to his own corruptions, lusts, and sins: For though the law (which is light, and the commandment, which is as a burning lamp) discovers to man his duty, what he ought to do, and leave undone; yet, through the weakness

of nature in its fallen state, and the suggestions of the evil one, in the imaginations and carnal mind (no good thing being in the flesh), the apostle and others, under the law, were held captive, and under a long and hard struggle for liberty and victory, but could not obtain it by all the legal precepts, or rational assent unto them, nor by his own learning or natural powers. He delighted in the law of God in his mind; yet, seeing another law in his members (to be understood as the temptations of the evil one, working in the lusts and corruptions of the carnal mind), warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which was in his members; and seeing no way of deliverance, by the law of Moses, from sin, he cries out, as it were aloud, under a sense of the whole weight, power, force, and body of sin, and saith, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death."

Now, though the apostle, in all this, speaks as in the first person (setting forth the state he had once been in, or rather the state in which the Jews were who had not believed in Christ; for this apostle had been, "touching the righteousness of the law, blameless"), yet it is plain, that neither the apostle himself, nor the true believers and followers of Christ in that day, were in that state of sin at that time, but redeemed from it: for instantly, after the apostle had thus cried out, "who shall deliver me from the body of this death"! he immediately, and most comfortably answers, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and adds, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death."

Now, seeing the apostle speaks of a state of captivity and bondage under the law, or power of sin and death in this life, and of a state of redemption and freedom from that law also, in this present world, by Christ, including the apostle himself, and every living member of the true church, neither he, nor any other of them, as such, could be in those two opposite

states at the same time, or in so short a time as he was in writing that part of his Epistle ; which in an ordinary way, might be in less than two hours : but sin being reprov'd and condemn'd in them, by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit of Christ, and the righteousness of the law fulfilled in them, and they become the sons of God thereby, they were gradually led out of sin into all truth, according to the promise of Christ ; whose word is truth, and sure for ever unto all who believe, love, and obey him.

And also, in another place, this apostle confirms the same doctrine, with respect to the present salvation, state, and attainments of the true disciples of Christ in that day : where he saith, "for we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another, but after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour ;" which must be done in this life, or else there will be no entering the kingdom of God ; for no unclean thing can enter there.

The Apostle Paul, having thus, in this Epistle, fully preached the glorious doctrine of liberty from sin in this life, through Jesus Christ, the word, son, wisdom, and power of the Father, as he likewise preaches the same in divers places of others of his Epistles, not necessary to be mentioned at this time, I proceed to prove the same doctrine, by the authority and testimony of the Apostle John, who preached it after the same manner, that it may be established from the mouths of two so great and faithful witnesses.

First, that all have sinned and wanted salvation : 2dly, that Christ died for all mankind : and 3dly, that all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and follow him in the regeneration, are not only freed from all sin in this life, but eternally saved in that which is to come.

In the first place the apostle reminds the Church, what

was the testimony of the apostles unto them from the beginning of their preaching of the Gospel, and the certainty of it, as what they had "heard, seen, and handled of the word of life;" so that they certainly knew, and were witnesses of the truth they delivered unto others, "that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all."

In the next place, that they had formerly, in their natural state, been sinners, but having confessed their sins unto the Holy One, who in love and mercy convinceth and reproveth the world of sin, then his faithfulness and justice was made manifest in them, not only in the forgiveness of the acts of their sins against his law, but likewise in cleansing them from all the inward pollution of sin and unrighteousness.

If they had said they had not sinned, they would then have given God the lie, who sent his Son to save them from their sins: but though all have sinned, yet God, in infinite love, mercy, and goodness, hath sent his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, "to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world;" thereby declaring his mercy and goodness in him unto all mankind, to be testified in due time. And the sin and condemnation of the world stands in this; that Christ is come into the world, not only as man and lifted up, but also as he is the true light, "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" but the world neither knoweth him nor believeth in him (as that light) nor loveth him, but men rather love themselves, and darkness, wherein to act their own wills, and hide from themselves their own evil deeds.

And although this divine eternal light reproveth and condemneth all sin and evil in mankind, yet faith therein doth not only restore and preserve from final perdition, but hath the promise of life eternal: and on the contrary he that believeth not is under present condemnation, not for acts of sin and evil only, but because "he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God." Thus is faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as he is lifted up and crucified, and likewise as he is the true and divine light (and that faith accompanied and evidenced with good works),

necessary and effectual for redemption, and present restoration of unbelieving, sinful, polluted mankind, from under their present condemnation, and for their preservation unto life eternal.

And seeing God the Father, through Jesus Christ the Son, hath given a saving gift of his divine light, spirit, grace, and truth (which is one and the same), unto all mankind, to lead, direct, and guide them, as an ever-living, infallible teacher unto all, that whosoever shall believe therein and repent of their sins, and obey him in his manifestations in their hearts, minds, and understandings, shall be surely led into all Truth, and consequently out of all untruth and error; which must be in this life, where sin, untruth, and error only are. The cause of such the Lord Jesus will advocate before the Father.

And as the knowledge of God and Christ is eternal life, so the evidence of that knowledge is the keeping of his commandments, and the love of the brethren: and whoever pretendeth to that knowledge, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and Christ, who is the Truth, is not in him; he is a reprobate, and his sins remain upon him, notwithstanding the sufficiency of the propitiation in its own nature, and to its general and proper end: But whosoever keepeth his word, in him is the love of God perfected; whereby such sanctified souls know not only that their sins are forgiven them, but that they are in him that is true, in whom there is no sin; and such walk in the way of faithfulness and obedience to the Father in all things, even as Christ himself walked, who never sinned; which sinless walking, must refer to the Christian conduct in this world in order to be settled at last in the kingdom of glory; where nothing sinful or unclean, while so, can come.

And this apostle clearly distinguisheth three several states and orders in the Universal Church of Christ at that time; that is to say, little children, young men, and fathers: And it hath ever been the same from that day unto this, and ever will be, from age to age, and generation to generation, to the end of the world. He writes first unto little children in

Christ, that they should not sin : for this apostle, as all the rest, having once been such, knew the danger they were in of being enticed by the evil one, mysteriously working in their own natural propensities, affections, passions, and desires, even after they had known something of the beginning of the work of Christ, the word of God, in them ; and yet if such should sin, he (to preserve them from despairing of the mercy of God, through a consciousness of sin, and the accusations of the evil one) remarks the provision which is made for their safety, saying, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Their sins were forgiven them, and they knew the Father.

2dly. The apostle writes to the young men in Christ, not that they should not sin (they having attained a further degree of growth and establishment), but because they were strong through the abiding and in-dwelling of Christ, the word of God, in them, and had thereby overcome the wicked one ; and there was nothing then to lead them into sin, but they were preserved from the sins and evils of the world through the prayer and intercession of Christ, until they attained a further degree of knowledge of God, and in due time became fathers.

3dly. He wrote unto the fathers of the Church, not as to children, that they should not sin ; nor as to young men, who were not yet perfect in knowledge, but because they had known him who is from the beginning : They were come to the certain infallible knowledge of God and Christ, as sure as (and more so than) they could know the certainty of any object, knowable by hearing, seeing, or handling thereof : They knew Christ, not only as the Messiah, sent of the Father into the world in human nature, but as he is the word of life, manifested unto them, and in them : And that was the message of the apostles to the Church (the congregation of God) from the beginning of the publication of the Gospel, in order to true church fellowship ; that as Christ is the word of life from the Father, so God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. And this message was thus declared, by the apostles and messengers of Christ, unto the Universal Church of God, that

they might have fellowship with them whose fellowship was with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, which plainly implies the presence of the Father and Son divinely and sensibly in them, and in every true and living member of that holy and saved body; where no sin, uncleanness, or unrighteousness can remain or come: For they who live in sin, live in darkness, and are dead unto God while they live in the world, and when they pretend to fellowship with God and Christ in his Church, they lie, and do not the truth, but continue in sin, and have only a church and fellowship therein of their own inventing and composing, and not of the Lord: For as the Father and Son are one, a divine and eternal light, in whom there is no darkness; good works are the evidence of true faith in him; and even so, walking and having conversation in and through this present world of darkness, in and by that light, is the true and only test of fellowship with God and Christ, and the Universal Church of Christ, wherever hidden, dispersed, or visible in the world; all the members of this holy Christian fellowship having not only all their transgressions pardoned, but are also cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ, from all sin.

Though I have been long upon this necessary and important doctrine of the apostles of Christ, let your patience bear a little longer, till I add some more texts out of the same Epistle of the latter, in further confirmation of the same doctrine; where he saith, "Every man that hath this hope in him (that is, of seeing the Lord as he is), purifieth himself even as he is pure; and in him is no sin. Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." It is therefore evident, that as many as receive the word of God, by whom the world was made, "to them he gives power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

Now, I would have the auditory to observe, that the Epistle

of John was written chiefly to preserve the Church of God from being seduced from the teachings of Christ, the Word of Life (of which they were born), by the antichrists of those days, who attempted to draw them therefrom, back into the rites of the law of Moses; effectually ended by the coming and manifestation of Christ the Lord, as appears by these parts of the Epistle, where it is said, "Little children, it is the last time (or dispensation), and as you have heard, that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us: But ye have an unction from the holy one, and ye know all things. These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you: but the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is Truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."

And the successors of those antichrists, and their supporters (who have, from age to age, even until now, formed and composed unto themselves images, and likenesses of religion and worship, from mistaken, wrested, and misapplied texts and portions of the Holy Scriptures, intermixed with many and various inventions and imaginations of their own, and imposed and obtruded their forgeries, by violence of persecutions, upon the Church of Christ and mankind), are still, under various names, forms, communities, and powers of the earth, the chief opposers that Christ and his true ministers and doctrine (which, in itself, is the same now as then) do meet with in this generation. Those antichrists had once been professors of Christ, and many of them then were, as to his outward coming in the flesh, but had gone out, and apostatized from the Spirit of Christ, the holy anointing, and from the divine light of God, and the fellowship of the faithful therein; denying thereby the Lord who bought them; attempting to draw

the Church of God after themselves and their false teachings, and to establish the rites and righteousness of the law of Moses, in their own erroneous sense; together with their own heterodox sentiments concerning the faith of Christ, imposed by persecution and antichristian violence: And so it is now, by the same spirit, in like mercenary members; who come in their own names and wills, and not in the name, will, and power of the Lord, and seek and propagate their own interest, honor, power, and glory only, and not the Lord's, nor the good of mankind; but to make a prey, gain, and advantage of them unto themselves.

These things having passed after this manner, I drew to a conclusion thus: that, though by nature, as we are the offspring of the first Adam, we have a seed of evil or sin in us; which springing up, and we acting according to its motions (being influenced by the evil one), become guilty before God; yet, as we receive and believe in, and unite with Christ, the word of God, the second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, the quickening Spirit, and are witnesses of his work in our hearts, we become born of him (that seed), who never fell, or could fall, children of God, and heirs of his precious promises, partakers of the divine nature, and have present redemption from under the power of sin and Satan.

During all this time, which held above an hour, the people were very still; but their minister was fretful, and interrupted me often, for he saw what I said took with them: But several of the justices reprehended him openly divers times, and he was much down and discouraged.

When I had done, he answered, "that there is not a just man upon the earth that doth good and sinneth not; and that if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves," with some such things in favor of sin, very short, and so sat down.

I replied, that I had already repeated one of those texts of Scripture, and some others to the same purpose (for I intended at first to anticipate him in what they usually allege in favor of that pernicious doctrine of "sin term of life"); and that whatsoever was written in the law was to them who were under it.

It is true while men were under that law, which gave the knowledge of sin, but did not redeem from it, all these things were true as to them : For the law made nothing perfect ; but the bringing in of a better hope doth : which hope is " Christ in us, the hope of glory ;" the law of the Spirit of life by Christ, which, received and believed in, worketh in us a conformity to the will of God ; which the law of Moses could not do, as I have already proved.

This opposer was very angry at all this, and several times broke out into opprobrious language, and false charges against us as a people ; but several of the magistrates reprov'd him : and Captain Bassett, alleging still that the apostle was in that sinful and wretched state when he wrote that Epistle, undertook the argument, but advanced nothing new, only the weakness of nature since the fall, and how easily we are prevailed upon to sin. Whereupon I took the Bible again, and showed him, in the same chapter, that the apostle speaks only of a state under the law (but was not in that condition himself at that time), in these words : " For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sin, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death ; but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." Here it is evident, that the apostle speaks of two very differing states ; of sin, in which they had once been, whilst in the flesh or carnal mind, and of freedom from sin in the spirit ; and they could not be in those two opposite states at the same time. By the law is the law or power of sin made manifest, or discovered, reprov'd, and condemned in the mind and understanding, but sin is not thereby, or can by any outward law, be subdued and slain, until man believe, repent, receive, follow, and obey the law of the Spirit of life ; which doth not only reprove and condemn for sin, but destroys it.

Now, that wherein we are captivated, and held in our first and natural state, is our carnal mind, which, being " enmity against God," neither is or can be, as such, subject unto his

law; but that enmity being slain and crucified by the cross of Christ, the grace and Spirit of God, and the body of sin destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin, then the reproofing and condemning power of the law ceaseth to work in the soul; for they who are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.

And though they who are in the flesh cannot please God, yet the apostle, by the flesh, doth not mean the natural body, but the carnal mind; for he saith, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

By this time the Truth being in some measure over the people, they were generally calm and silent; and being asked if they were satisfied? they made no reply; only one pettish justice, of the old envious sort, a friend of sin, with an air of rancour, said, No: And Captain Bassett, being desirous of further dispute, said, "He could not yet believe that mankind could be freed from sin in this life:" but neither of them assigned any foundation or cause for their unbelief. And then their minister, taking fresh encouragement from them, blustered out several harsh and false charges, and railing accusations against us as a people; which I took in writing, and put him upon his proof; viz., "1st. That the Quakers hold lying and damnable principles. 2dly. That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith, and rule of life."

Both which I denied, and put him upon his proof, which he undertook, and began thus: "The words of the charge seem harsh, but I cannot help it; the nature of the thing requires it, and it is not I that bring the charge but God, upon their own disobedience: For, as it is written, 'he that saith I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.' Now, our blessed Lord hath commanded, as you will find it written in the 28th chapter of Matthew, at the 19th and 20th verses, 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and

of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' Now, these people, living in the avowed neglect of this great commandment, and yet pretending to know God, and the way of God, they are liars, and the truth is not in them : Therefore all sober Christian people ought to beware of them, and shun them as deceivers."

To this I answered, that if by this Scripture he understood water baptism, as I apprehended he did, he mistook it ; for every institution of Christ is plain and explicit, and water not being mentioned there, he must prove it, if he could, some other way : But if it were water baptism, then he himself, and all of his communion, living in neglect of this commandment (as he imagines it to be), are equally, if not more guilty ; not being in the practice of any baptism ever instituted by Christ, or in use in his Church in the days of his apostles, or for some hundreds of years after, either as to the manner, instrument, or subjects of baptism : For sprinkling is no baptism, nor are infants the subjects of it ; for the words of the text are, "teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," &c.

The instrument of baptism here, according to your minister, was water, and the manner of applying it, as is well known, and as the word itself signifies, was by going into the water and washing (particularly the feet) therein. The subjects were not infants, but such as were capable, not only of being taught, or made disciples and believers, but likewise of observing and doing all things which Christ had taught his disciples ; of which infants are not capable : and if Christ had commanded his disciples to baptize with water, and they had only sprinkled, they had not then obeyed him, but acted another thing, in their own wills, and made themselves transgressors. And if Christ had sent his disciples with such a message (as is plain he did not), what is that to this man, or any such ? Who sent them to do so ?

Then the priest replied, and said, "he did not sprinkle

infants." I answered, What dost thou then? Dost thou pour water on their faces off thy hand? or dost thou wash their faces with it? for it seems thou dost not baptize them. If not, thou dost not obey the commandment in thy own sense, if it were a command to thee: But this is only a low equivocal evasion.

He replied, "You have no baptism at all; and the question is not, whether we are in the right mode of baptizing, but whether you do, or not, break Christ's command in the neglect of it in any form? And seeing you do neglect it, you are liars, and hold lying principles."

Then directing my answer to the people, I said, the question on this head is equally applicable, Who is in the right or who is in the wrong? and not only whether you be in the right mode of water baptism, but whether you have any at all (and it appears, as above, you have not); and whether that be water baptism in the text, where water is not mentioned, as your minister hath suggested, but not proved, and only begged the question, which I have not granted? And whether they who neglect, or omit water baptism, be liars, and hold lying principles? And as to us, whom he thus accuseth, we have, through the mercy of God, the true baptism here commanded, which is that of the Spirit; of which this man is no competent judge, being ignorant of that great and saving work of the baptism of the Son of God. And I add one question more, Who sent him, and such as him, either to baptize or sprinkle? It doth not appear that they are sent of Christ: But if he hath sent them to baptize, and they do not so, but only rantize, then they break his command by their own rule; and when they say to a child, "I baptize thee," or to others present, "I baptize this child in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," they then lie in and unto that great name of the Holy One, and before the people; who are yet so blind as not to see they are acting upon false and lying principles.

The Lord gave a command to his eleven apostles to preach unto and disciple and baptize all nations: but what is that to these men now, who assume upon themselves a bare, imper-

fect, and mistaken or vicious imitation of it; in which they send one another with temporal, carnal, and corrupt views, in both the senders and sent; without any command from God, but from men; who know nothing of the mind of God, nor at all seek it therein; nor have any power from him in what they do? For a command of that nature to the apostles, is none to any one else, unless he be likewise qualified, endued, and sent by the same power: For if this was water baptism, (as it is evident it was not), then it would have been a command and sufficient mission to the Apostle Paul, who, though not behind the chief of the other apostles, as to any gift or qualification whatsoever, necessary to a Gospel minister, and "labored more than they all," assures us, that "Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." And as he was in a particular manner the minister of the Gentiles, and messenger of the promise of God unto them, "to turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God," none can succeed him in baptizing with water who had it not by command from Christ himself. And, as that great apostle could not justly be accused and stigmatized as a neglecter and breaker of the command of Christ in that case, or a liar, and holder of lying principles, when he thanked God that he had not proceeded any further than he did, in a practice for which he had no command or authority; neither can or ought we: But being in so good company therein, and having no command from Christ to baptize or sprinkle, or pour on water, or any way at all to use it herein, we cannot honestly be charged with any neglect of it, nor called liars therefore, nor holders of lying principles, nor void of truth; but men of truth, assuming nothing to ourselves but what we have freely received from the Lord, the gift of his grace, in which we minister freely, without money and without price; and therefore all sober Christians ought rather to receive us, and our Christian testimony, for truth, and to shun the mercenary hirelings of the times, of every form, and beware of those as deceivers, who falsely accuse and calumni-

ate us: For it is written, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me."

Seeing then these men say they are sent of Christ, by these words in the text, to teach and baptize all nations; and the Lord hath not sent them thereby, nor by any other mission, and they every one sit down where they can deceive the ignorant people out of a maintenance, and do not baptize any, but only sprinkle, and confirm their disciples in their sins for term of their lives; and thereby exclude them from the kingdom of God at last; they are liars against God and to mankind, and the truth is not in them: The powerful name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they are ignorant of, and profane it; and therefore all sober, Christian people ought to be aware of them, and shun them as deceivers.

Then I told the people that there was a fallacy in his argument, which they might easily perceive: For the Apostle John was not then writing of any commandment of that nature (being only ministerial), but of the moral commands of God, which were given to that people, the Jews, from the beginning of the dispensation of God unto them by Moses; where it is written, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him. Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

And the Lord Jesus Christ, who came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, said unto his disciples, the same night in which he suffered, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." And the Apostle John saith, "Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning: The old commandment is the word which ye have heard from the beginning. And whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby know we that we are in him." By the "Word" here may be understood the

whole commandments of God, moral and divine, as the root and perfection of all; and, by the old commandment, may be understood the same preached by Moses unto that people in the wilderness in the beginning; where it is written, "This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

By this Word God commanded Adam that he should not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; by the same he spake unto Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Samuel, Solomon, Elijah, Isaiah, David, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and, from time to time, unto all the prophets of God, in their several ages, according to the doctrine of the Apostle Peter, who expressly calls this Word the Spirit of Christ; where he saith, "Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace which should come unto you. Searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory which should follow."

This is the Word by which God spake unto Moses and appeared in a manner so tremendous, that Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

This is the same Spirit and power given unto the seventy elders, by which they preached in the camp of Israel in that day; as it is written, "The Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto Moses, and took of the Spirit that was upon him, and gave it to the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied and did not cease." So that until this Holy Spirit come upon man-

kind, unto that purpose; from God, they neither ought nor can preach aright to the profit of the people.

This eternal, unchangeable, Almighty Word, is the wisdom and power of God, by which he made the worlds; which in the fulness of time, he clothed with human nature, under the name and character of Jesus Christ, the Messiah and sent of the Father; who was born, lived, died, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and was first preached as such, by his chosen witnesses, apostles, and ministers; and afterwards (in like manner as the same word and commandment had been preached by Moses and the seventy elders in their day) by the Apostle Paul in his evangelical doctrine, where, speaking of Israel, he saith, "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven (that is, to bring Christ down from above)? or, who shall descend into the deep (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead)? But what saith it? The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is the word of faith which we preach."

And this is the same which the Apostle John calls the Anointing, the Spirit of Truth, which teacheth all things pertaining unto our duty to God, and one to another in him: And as they had declared unto the people from the beginning of their spiritual ministry, that "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all," so he writes of this divine light, as of the new commandment, the evidence and fruit whereof is divine and brotherly love: But he who hateth his brother, "is in darkness even until now;" he is not come to Christ, the Gospel light of the Gentiles, and covenant of God with them, but remaineth where "darkness covereth the earth, and gross darkness the people, under the region and shadow of death," where the life of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, is not yet known.

And let me observe to you once more, that this command in the text is only ministerial and personal, as are all those gifts of the Holy Spirit of Christ; such as wisdom, knowledge in the things of God, faith, healing, working of miracles,

prophecy and preaching the Gospel, discerning of spirits, divers kinds of tongues, the interpretation of tongues; "but all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." By which God hath set in his Church, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after these miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, and diversities of tongues: "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles," &c. Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy. He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied; for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the Church may receive edifying. Forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel, to the edifying of the Church. Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues." Thus every one is to be exercised in his own gift, to general edification and comfort, without any emulation or strife, to the hindering or lessening of the helps and services one of another, and creating and promoting of schisms and quenching of love; which is the divine life and cement of the body.

Thus you may observe, that all these, and like gifts of the Spirit, are ministerial and personal, for the edification of the body of Christ the Church: Therefore, if he that hath wisdom do not exercise it in the Church to edification and help, he who hath the gift of prophecy, is not to be blamed, because he who hath wisdom, doth not use it to its right end; And if he who hath knowledge doth not use it to the end for which it is given him, he who hath the gift of faith is not therefore to be blamed: And if he who hath the gift of prophecy, or preaching the gospel (for these are all gifts of the Spirit, in all ages of the Church, and not human acquirements) do not duly attend upon his ministry, they who have the gifts of wisdom, knowledge, or discerning of spirits, are not to blame, nor ought they to be accused as holding lying principles for

his neglect, nor for not using of the proper gifts one of another, but for their own only. No more are we worthy of being charged as holding lying and damnable principles, in declining to use water baptism, seeing Christ hath not sent or commanded us to do it; but some of us to preach the Gospel, others to teach the way of Truth by word or writing; and all to believe in God and in Christ, in every dispensation and manner of appearance, whether in the flesh among the Jews, or as divine eternal light, or as he is the Holy Spirit of life, the Lord and giver of life eternal, to all that believe in him and obey his voice. This charge therefore upon us, by your minister, of holding of lying and damnable principles, is a manifest perversion and misapplication of the Holy Scripture; a false gloss and inference, not at all due unto us, but rather unto himself, as an advocate for sin, and a minister of it.

And though it is not incumbent upon me, as the question or dispute is stated, to prove that water baptism was not commanded in that text, but upon your minister, and he hath not done it; yet, for your sakes, and of my friends present, I find my mind engaged to endeavor to make it manifest that it was not water baptism, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost; the first being the baptism of John, and the latter of Christ.

John the Baptist was sent of God to preach repentance to the Jews, and to baptize them with water, saying, that they should believe in one to come after him, who he did not then know, but that he was among the people, and ready to appear. That he was a baptizer superior to himself, and should baptize them with a more excellent baptism; and that was Christ. John was the servant, and his baptism was with water, and was to decrease, and consequently come to an end; but Christ is the Son of God, and his baptism is with the Holy Ghost and divine sanctifying fire, and increaseth and remaineth until the end of the world; and as Christ fulfilled all the righteousness of the law of Moses, in his own person, so likewise as John's baptism, in point of time, came before his, and the time of his public appearance (though he needed no repentance, not having sinned), it was incumbent upon him to

fulfil the righteousness of that dispensation likewise; and therefore he was baptized of John as others were: And thus centering in himself all the righteousness of the typical dispensations of God, he became from thenceforth the sole dispenser of righteousness unto all nations and people, throughout all generations unto the end of the world: and he himself is that essential righteousness in his own nature; and therefore, as soon as he had fulfilled all that righteousness, he began to be made manifest, and to preach repentance to the Jews, as John did (that being most necessary to their sinful state), declaring the kingdom of God to be at hand to that people (for he was not sent at that time, nor in that manner to the Gentiles); and calling disciples, he sent them forth among the Jews, declaring him to be the Messiah, and preaching in his name the same doctrine, and baptizing with the same baptism, as to the mode and instrument of it, but with this distinction as to the application and end of it, John with water unto repentance, but with no object of faith certain, not in any name declared, but in him who was to come after, or to be made manifest; but the disciples of Christ preached the same doctrine, and baptized with the same baptism, but in the name of the Lord Jesus, as the true object of faith, declaring him to be the Messiah, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, now already come and made manifest; not unto repentance only, but for remission of sins repented of, in the name of him who was shortly to be offered up unto God, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

And it is said, that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John did; yet he did not baptize any in his own person; that was below the dispensation of the baptism John had ascribed unto him, and committed unto his administration by the Father: which is a dispensation of eternal substance, of light, life, virtue, and power, and not of shadows or symbols, for the time that then was, until they were capable of higher attainments and services.

The apostles and disciples of Christ, being thus in the practice of water baptism, and other services of that day, the Lord,

when they were able to bear it, plainly told them who he was, that is, the way, the truth, and the life; and foretold them of his sufferings, a little before it came to pass; of his departure from them; that he must go away as to his bodily presence, but should come again in spirit, by which he should be in them as their comforter: And this promise he made in the Father's name, which was to come to pass as the effect of his own prayer and intercession.

And accordingly, after he had suffered, and finished his testimony on earth, and was risen from the dead, he appeared to his disciples, and gave them several infallible proofs of it: And the apostles being present with him, in a place appointed, a little before he ascended into heaven, he said unto them, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth, and repentance and remission of sins, must be preached in my name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. Go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: But tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high. But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you. For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

Here their mission and work were greatly enlarged; for, before, they (as well as himself) were confined to the Jews only, until he had finished his testimony unto them on earth; but now they are sent unto all nations under heaven, to the uttermost parts of the world. They had been before baptized with John's water baptism; and they had baptized many in

the name of the Lord, without any other power from on high, with the same baptism : But now they themselves were to be baptized with a more excellent baptism (foretold by John), the baptism of Christ ; which was with the Holy Ghost, and divine, holy, soul-cleansing fire, and then, and not before, they were to go out, in that glorious, wonderful, and powerful name, in that soul-saving work and service : For after the Lord had given them this command, to go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c., he restrained them by subsequent order from going by virtue of that command only, until they were actually endued with power from the Father, saying, “ but ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you ; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.” Now, by all this, it is clear, that the Lord Christ spake all these things, at one and the same time, unto his apostles, and with good and plain connection, very intelligible to any unprejudiced or unprepossessed understanding ; though they are dispersed in the Scriptures, and some part recorded by one evangelist and some by another, and not entirely by any one of them. And that he distinguisheth between the baptism of John with water (then in practice, and shortly to be superseded, and cease in point of obligation), and the baptism of Christ himself by the Spirit ; which as it is the Gospel baptism and dispensation, was not then commenced, nor could be, until Christ ascended, and was glorified with the same glory that he had with the Father before the world was made. And the Lord Christ doth not mention in all this, any other water baptism but that of John, in distinction to the baptism of the Spirit ; which he establisheth alone, as his permanent, necessary, and saving baptism to the end of the world : Nor is it at all probable, or any way likely, that Christ would reinstitute water baptism, which they were already in the practice of, by his own authority and countenance, that had its time and use already, and not so much as name water in all the words of the institution, but by way of contradistinction and precaution ; lest they should so far mistake, in so great and neces-

sary a point, as to think he instituted another water baptism ; and, though they were apostles of Christ, and had received some degree of the Spirit, and were thereby sanctified, so far as to be fitted for the services to which they had been hitherto called, yet they were not at this time so thoroughly converted, or their understandings so far opened, as to know either the nature of this baptism, or extent of their commission therein : for worldly views had prepossessed their minds, and anticipated and misguided their judgments for the present, until the holy thing declared itself unto them ; till the Holy Ghost came and was manifested in them, by its own divine and powerful influence and work : for unto all that Christ said unto them on that subject, they answered him like men deeply prepossessed with views and sentiments, of Christ and his kingdom, quite contrary to the nature of it, and the truth ; after a carnal manner saying, “ Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel ? ”

It is not to be admired therefore, that none of them understood Christ either as to the nature or extent of their mission, at that time, until Peter was sent to the house of Cornelius (who was a Gentile), which was about eight years after this command ; for till then, notwithstanding the plain intelligible words of Christ, they still thought salvation was confined unto themselves, the Jews only ; until Christ himself demonstrated the contrary by matter of fact, in baptizing Cornelius and his household, with the Holy Ghost, by the ministry of Peter ; and then his understanding was opened and enlarged, and the rest likewise, who had yet remained ignorant, were, by his relation of the facts and circumstances of the whole matter, convinced and satisfied, both as to the nature and extent of their commission, that it is a spiritual baptism and dispensation, wherein salvation is offered, through Christ, unto all nations and ages, and from generation to generation, to the end of the world.

But though the Spirit of Christ, which is essential truth, and clothed with a human mind, leadeth those, who believe and follow him, into all truth ; yet not all at once, but as we

poor, low, weak mortals are made able to bear, from one degree of convincement, illumination, sanctification, understanding, experience, and knowledge, to another, under the conduct of the Spirit, until we arrive at as great perfection, as our nature is capable of in this present world, which is no small degree; in order to be completely fitted for a far greater glory, and full establishment, in a more excellent and permanent world to come, in life everlasting.

Now, it is an easier matter for any man of tolerable sense, in a few sentences to puzzle any cause, or perplex any truth or point of doctrine of the Gospel, before incompetent judges, than for the most sincere, skilful, and competent ministers of it, to disentangle the matter, so as to make it clear to common capacities, and thereby command the assent of their understandings, especially when such auditors are prepossessed and prejudiced against the truth by a series of practices and habits to the contrary, under a false apprehension of their being in the right: And therefore my opponent replied, "That notwithstanding all I had said on that head, it must still be water baptism which was commanded in that text; for several of the apostles and ministers in that day, baptized with water, after the coming of the Holy Ghost; and their practice is the clearest way to determine what is the mind of Christ herein. For instance, when Peter, being filled with the Holy Ghost, at the time of the first effusion thereof, answering this question of the Jews, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' said unto them, 'Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.' Here it is plain, that Peter adviseth them who believed, to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, as a necessary qualification, both for the remission of sins and gift of the Holy Ghost: And this cannot be understood of any other baptism but that of water; for this is to precede, and the Holy Ghost to succeed upon it, the former as a condition, in a manner, of the latter; and accordingly, 'they who gladly received his word, were baptized.'

“Again, when Peter preached unto Cornelius and his household, after they had received the Holy Ghost, he commanded them to be baptized; which could not be any other than water baptism. And Paul baptized twelve disciples at Ephesus; which must have been with water, for they received the Holy Ghost afterward. And when Philip preached unto the Samaritans, they believed him, and ‘were baptized, both men and women.’

“And Philip baptized the Eunuch; and Saul was baptized; and Lydia and her household were baptized; and the gaoler and his household were baptized; and many of the Corinthians were baptized. And all those instances being after the coming of the Holy Ghost, they show, that it was water baptism which was commanded in the text; and all ages since having been in the practice of it, declare they have ever so understood it, from that time until now.”

To this I answered, Though I have sufficiently spoken to this point already, and distinguished between baptism with water by John, but not in any name certain; and the same water baptism by the disciples of Christ in his name, which was certain; and the people of Israel’s being generally baptized by John, only unto repentance, and not for remission of sins: Because he in whose name alone remission of sins is, was not then made manifest, nor had suffered for our sins, it was necessary they should be baptized with the same baptism, in the name of the Lord Jesus, as soon as he was made manifest, for the remission of sins, when repented of. And though there were several administrators of water baptism at the same time, John and the disciples of Christ to several purposes; yet it was the same baptism: For water baptism is but water baptism, whoever be the minister; and can no more reach to the inside, to the purifying of the mind, than could the blood of bulls. And though there are some instances of the administration of water baptism, after the commencement of the ministration of the baptism of the Spirit; yet they are but very few, and of those now mentioned, several are uncertain, whether the subjects were baptized with water at all or not;

and those which are certain confirm my assumption, that it is not water baptism which is mentioned by Matthew in that place; but is the baptism of the Spirit only, they being generally distinguished in every instance: That with water in the name of Christ only; and that with the Spirit, in the name, power, and authority of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as comprehensive of all the righteousness of God, and the fulfilling of all his promises unto mankind through his word. For when Peter said unto them who heard and believed his doctrine, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost;" the Evangelist adds, "then they who gladly received his words, were baptized."

This faith and baptism were effected in them by the hearing of the word by which Peter preached the Gospel; as may well be explained by these texts of Scripture, where it is said, "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." And again, "For their sakes, I sanctify myself that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also, which shall believe in me through their word." And it is to be considered, that though the Jews were generally baptized by John unto repentance; yet they repented of their repentance, so far as afterward to deny, reproach, vilify, and crucify the Lord and Christ of God. This cannot be understood of those Jews who had believed in Christ, in the days of his flesh, and publicly acknowledged him as the Messiah, by being baptized by his apostles in his name; but of them who had not believed in Christ, notwithstanding their baptism by John, nor had brought forth fruits meet for repentance; but, as a generation of vipers, had blasphemed the Lord and giver of Life, sent of the Father, in eternal love and mercy to save them. It was therefore necessary that they should first believe in him, and repent again of all their sins; especially of that great sin of denying and crucifying the Lord, before they could be baptized with the Holy Ghost, or know the sweet movings, run-

nings, flowings, and divine consolations thereof in their hearts as the saved of the Lord. Again, John the Baptist was sent to the Jews only, and not to the Gentiles, with his baptism; nor was Christ himself sent, in the flesh, to any others but the Jews; nor were the disciples of Christ sent, in that day; nor with any other baptism than John's water baptism; nor was there ever any other water baptism instituted by Christ: Then it follows, that as John's baptism was to decrease, and Christ's to increase as soon as Christ's baptism commenced, obtained, and took effect, as a dispensation of life and salvation to them who believed, water baptism ceased, in point of obligation, and is effectually ended, though imitated by some in practice unto this day.

But as the rites of the law of Moses were never incumbent upon the Gentiles, nor Christ sent unto them in the flesh, the mission of the apostles unto them was of a divine and spiritual nature, a dispensation of light and life from God, through Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all nations under heaven; so the baptism of Christ to them is likewise spiritual; not with elementary water, which cannot effect any more in time of the Gospel, than legal and outward institutions could in time of the law of Moses; but with the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ: whereby the mind being thereunto turned, and believing therein, is inwardly taught and instructed in the things and knowledge of God, sanctified, justified, and eternally saved; being thereby united, as in a covenant of divine love and life, unto him who sanctifies, and liveth for ever; and then because he liveth, we live also in him, and he in us, world without end. Amen.

And as to that passage, where Peter commanded that Cornelius and his household should be baptized in the name of the Lord; the case was this, he was sent only to tell them words whereby they were to be saved, and he preached unto them accordingly; in the conclusion whereof he said, that, through the name of Christ, whoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins: "And as he began to speak, or while he yet spake the words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them

who heard the word, as on the apostles in the beginning: Then Peter remembered the word of the Lord (with understanding), how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost."

Here it is remarkable: 1st. That no more is needful for the remission of sins, or to fit mankind for the baptism of the Holy Ghost, but belief in God, a good life, a charitable disposition, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ: But I observe here, as in some other places in Scripture, a difference between the speech of the apostle and the word by which he did speak; and that men may hear the one, and not the other; for the Holy Ghost fell on them only who heard the word: And Christ himself said to the Jews, Why do ye not understand my speech? Even because ye cannot hear my word.

2dly. That the coming of the Holy Ghost upon such as believe, is the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and that neither Peter, nor the rest of the apostles, till that time (when Peter preached to Cornelius, &c.), understood the full meaning of Christ, when he commanded them "to go teach all nations, baptizing them;" for till Peter's understanding was opened by the vision he had to that purpose, he did not know that the Gentiles, believing in Christ, were to be saved as well as the Jews.

3dly. This further demonstrates, that where Christ said, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them," this baptism is effected in preaching Christ by the power of the Holy Ghost, as in one and the same act; "For as Peter began to speak, or while he yet spake, the Holy Ghost fell on them who heard the word," agreeable to some words in their general commission, that he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved: and, again, "Ye shall have power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you."

4thly. Where the end is obtained, all means conducing to that end naturally cease, and cannot be any further needful to that purpose: Here Peter is sent to preach words unto Cornelius and his household, by which they should be saved; he did preach, they believed, and the salvation of God, the saving

power of the Holy Ghost, came upon them ; and, consequently, there could not be any need, as to them, of being baptized afterwards with water in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, seeing they were already baptized into the name, word, power, and life of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the Spirit of Christ, without using that form of words.

5thly. Again, as to Peter's saying, "Can any man forbid water," &c., it is to be considered that the Jews were a people blindly zealous, and obstinately tenacious of everything that once obtained with them, as well after they believed in Christ as before, many thousands of them being still zealous for their law, and water baptism, in the name of Jesus Christ, having been so lately accustomed to it ; and six of them from Joppa, being with Peter, and still remaining under their former prejudices against the Gentiles, as if they were not to be regarded of God, or saved, were astonished, because they perceived that "on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost." And Peter, being but newly convinced himself, by a vision from God (notwithstanding the extent of the Gospel to all nations), that the Gentiles were to be saved ; and those believing Jews, seeing the effects of the doctrine of Peter, but not yet knowing the purpose of God for the salvation of the Gentiles by Christ ; and lest these, and the rest of the believing Jews, should think that Cornelius and his household, being Gentiles by nature, still wanted to be baptized with water in the name of the Lord Jesus, as they themselves had been, he said unto them, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we ? and he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days."

"Can any man forbid water ?" Here Peter speaks cautiously and faintly ; as if he had said, it is not prohibited, therefore, to prevent offences, it may be permitted. "And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord ;" which shows still that he meant the same baptism they used in John's time, and not "into the name of the Father, Son,

and Holy Ghost," the terms used in the account by Matthew. And as baptism with water was no part of Peter's mission to Cornelius and his house, but only to preach unto them, neither did he, in all his defence and recital of the passage, so much as once mention this baptism, against those who accused him at Jerusalem, as if he had been in an error, and broken the law of Moses, or stated custom of the Jews, by going into the house of Cornelius and eating with them; which still shows that neither Peter, nor any of those believers with him, nor those at Jerusalem, had any apprehension of the salvation of the Gentiles. And that although the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ, leadeth into all Truth, yet not all at once, but gradually, as weak, ignorant, and scarce docile mankind are able to bear; Nor were the apostles themselves opened at once into all the truths of the Gospel, lest they might publish them too soon, and unseasonably, unto the people, before they could understand or believe them; and so offend rather than save them.

Now, to conclude upon this head, though Peter did command them to be baptized, not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (the terms of the baptism in Matthew), but in the name of the Lord; yet it doth not appear to whom he gave that command; nor that Cornelius and his household, or any of them, were so baptized: for "Then prayed they him to tarry certain days;" in which time they might deliberate, it being a new case, whether they should be so baptized or not; and it is most probable they were not, seeing Peter, in his defence at Jerusalem, doth not so much as once mention anything of it. And, as to that instance at Ephesus, the Apostle Paul, finding some persons there under the character of disciples; and not taking notice of any intermediate state or dispensation, between believing in Christ, and receiving the Holy Ghost, as the fruit and consequence of faith in Christ, asked them this question: "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" To which they answered, "that they had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." This answer seems to have surprised the apostle at their igno-

rance; and he, having no other baptism in view but that of the Holy Ghost, replied, "Into what then were ye baptized? and they said, Unto John's baptism," which demonstrates, that though they had been baptized of John, and directed to believe in one to come after him, yet they had not hitherto believed in Christ, and consequently were wholly ignorant of the dispensation of his Holy Spirit; and therefore Paul preached Christ unto them, as the true and certain object of their faith, saying, "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus;" declaring him openly to be the person of whom John had spoken obscurely. And when they heard this, "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus," not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: And this is a like phrase of speech with what is said before concerning Cornelius and his household at the preaching of Peter: "While he yet spake the words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them who heard the word." And yet here, the Apostle Paul, in the counsel of God, being directed to further means, after the manner of the law, laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and then they were endued with some special gifts; they spake with tongues and prophesied: they became ministers of the Gospel, as I understand it: But it doth not appear they were baptized with water, but being initiated into the grace of God by faith in Christ, through the ministry of the apostle, they received a greater degree by his laying on of hands.

As to that instance, when the Samaritans believed Philip, the deacon, "preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women." This was but the next year after Christ was crucified, and is of the like nature and import of that passage before, by the Apostle Paul at Ephesus: for when they believed Philip preaching, they were baptized, both men and women; which was about seven years before Peter preached to Cornelius and his household, as before observed: By faith in Christ they received an earnest of grace as a seed

of divine life : They were initiated by his doctrine into a sense of the beginning of the work of the Spirit, in order to their sanctification ; becoming thereby clean as the new bottles, prepared for the new wine of the kingdom of the Holy Ghost, in greater measure : For when the Apostles Peter and John had prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, " they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit," accordingly.

But, in the mean time, between the preaching of Philip, and their receiving the Holy Ghost, they had been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus (professing the true God with the Jews), as was also Simon Magus ; in which several things are observable.

1st. This baptism being only in the name of the Lord Jesus, was not that baptism declared in Matthew, which is in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but the same they were in practice of in John's time, as before noted.

2dly. That the apostles were the instrumental ministers and dispensers of the Holy Ghost unto others, his power and presence being with them, and they co-working with him therein, under his own immediate counsel and direction, as in all other the parts and means of the salvation of mankind ; " for without him they could do nothing."

3dly. Simon Magus's believing and being baptized, demonstrates, that a bare belief that Christ is the Messiah, or person of whom Moses and the prophets prophesied, neither sanctifieth or qualifies for receiving the Holy Ghost, in a Gospel sense ; but that men may be in a state of gross sin and uncleanness notwithstanding : and therefore let all such superficial believers beware ; for true faith is the gift of God, and comes into the heart by the operation of the Spirit of Christ ; which is the Holy Ghost, by which every minister of Christ preacheth the Gospel of the kingdom of God ; and sometimes by the immediate inward work of the Spirit without any instrument.

As to that instance of Philip's baptizing the Eunuch : it was very early in the year of Christ 34, the next year after

he suffered; and as Philip preached Christ unto the Eunuch, in which, by the sequel, it is most probable he mentioned the baptism of John with water, and the same baptism practised by the disciples of Christ in his name; and the Eunuch being but instantly convinced, and believing that Christ is the person the prophet wrote of, and what he had said of water baptism in his name, he therefore proposed to be baptized by Philip, who permitted it, but not until he had examined his sincere and full faith in Christ, and was satisfied in it, saying, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." And here it is remarkable that Philip did not say to the Eunuch, thou must be baptized, by way of necessity, but "thou mayest," as by way of permission, not duty: and his faith was expressed in a few words, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." It is plain, then, that this was still the same water baptism begun by John indefinitely, without assigning any certain object of faith, and carried on for a time, in the name of Jesus Christ, as the object of the faith of all that come unto God by him; through which faith, the believers being sanctified and prepared as clean vessels of honor unto God, they afterwards receive the baptism of Christ; they are filled with the Holy Ghost; of which we do not find that Philip said anything to the Eunuch.

As to that instance concerning Saul, it is to be observed, that what Christ said unto Ananias of Saul was this, "Go thy way, for he is a chosen vessel unto me," &c., and what Ananias said unto Saul was only this, putting his hands upon him, "Brother Saul, the Lord (even Jesus that appeared unto thee by the way as thou camest) hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales; and he received sight forthwith, and arose and was baptized."

Now, here is not anything predicated of water baptism, nor anything like it in the action, nor the name of Jesus Christ used therein as was common in water baptism; nor anything said by Ananias, as his mission from Christ, but that Saul

might receive his sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably understood to be water baptism, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost; for that only is predicated in the mission of Ananias; which was performed by laying on of his hands (in the immediate counsel and power of the Holy Ghost), being the means by which the Holy Ghost was often given in those days, but never used in baptizing with water only. Again, if this had been water baptism, the principal part of the mission, and the true end of it had remained unperformed; for nothing is otherwise said of Saul's actually receiving the Holy Ghost, without which he could not perform the great end of his calling, "To bear the name of the Lord before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel; or to suffer so great things (even death at last) for his name's sake." This, therefore, was not water baptism (which many have received with Simon Magus, and yet have been, and still remain, as great persecutors of Jesus, as Saul was before his conversion), but the baptism of Christ himself, by Ananias as his instrument, by his Holy Spirit.

And as to that passage concerning Lydia; when the Apostle Paul and others had preached unto certain women by a river side, Lydia, who was before a worshipper of God (as Cornelius had been before he believed), and her household, were convinced by the ministry of that apostle, and were baptized; but it is not said with water, or in any name: and where the Scripture is not express, we may take it, and I think we ought, as in other cases of like import, and here conclude it was the baptism of Christ by the preaching of the Gospel only, in the power and wisdom of the Holy Ghost, by Paul as the instrument of it; or, if it might be supposed to be with water, it must be concluded to be the same in use from the beginning of John's time, and the same with his, and not from that institution or declaration in Matt. xxviii. 19.

And, as to that instance, where the gaoler and his house are said to have been baptized; the passage is thus: At the preaching of Paul and Silas the foundation of the prison was shaken, and their bonds taken off, and the prison-doors opened

by the mighty power of God; upon which the gaoler said unto them, 'What must I do to be saved?' Their answer was, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. (This was 53 years after the birth of Christ). And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house; and he was baptized, and all his house straightway, believing in God with all his house."

It is here to be observed, that the apostles do not express any other conditions of salvation to them, but to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and say nothing of baptism on that account; but as the apostles spake unto him and his family the word of the Lord (which could not be but by the power of the Holy Ghost), it is most probable that this baptism was the coming of the Holy Ghost at the same instant when the apostles preached; for they were baptized straightway (before he brought them out of the place where they preached, into his house), which being a little after midnight, and in the prison, it is no way probable they were baptized with water; but the fruits of their ministry were, that the gaoler and his house rejoiced, believing in God. But if there can be yet any room to think of water baptism here, it could be no other than the same the apostles practised in John's time; for as no name is mentioned wherein they were baptized, it is most reasonable to think it was in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, since he was proposed as the object of their faith by the apostles; and consequently was the same baptism which the disciples of Christ used in John's time, and not any new institution mentioned by Matthew; which was not in the name of the Lord Jesus only, but in the name (virtue and power) of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that is to say, both into the holy humanity, or human nature of Christ, who never fell, and into his divine nature likewise by the Holy Spirit, which partaketh of both; which no outward water, in what manner, or by what administrator soever applied, can possibly effect (being altogether an inward, spiritual, and invisible work of Christ upon the heart and mind), no more than the blood of bulls and goats could purify the conscience, or take away sin.

And as to those Corinthians mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, Paul, reasoning or disputing in the synagogue every Sabbath, persuaded the Jews and the Greeks, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ; but being opposed by the Jews, he went to the Gentiles: Yet Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, with all his house, and many of the Corinthians, hearing the apostles, believed in Christ, and were baptized. And what baptism this was, appears by the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, about five years after; where, though he directed his Epistle "unto the Church of God which was at Corinth (and more particularly to the most worthy among them), to them who were sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all who in every place called upon the name of Jesus Christ," &c., yet, in the sequel of his Epistle, he calls them babes and carnal, not able at that time to bear, or understand the spirituality of the doctrine of the apostles concerning God and Christ the Lord: which shows, that many of them, if not the greatest part, had not been baptized with the Holy Ghost; though they had so far believed in Christ as that he is the Messiah (and were like the Samaritans before they received the Holy Ghost), having been baptized with water only, the same continuing in practice from John's time, and being the same, and not by the Spirit, which supersedes it; not in the name, nature, virtue, and power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in the name of Jesus Christ, or the Lord, only; and many of them by Paul, who ingenuously confesseth that he had no authority from Christ (as I have said before), for so doing; nor do we find that any other had, though they mention several ministers as instruments of their faith, about whom, and other matters, they were divided, envying and striving one against another; and would have had the apostles and ministers of Christ, as so many sect masters over them, as all the carnally minded and unconverted professors of Christ do at this day; which demonstrates, that neither those of the Corinthians, nor those at this day, either were, or are, baptized with the Holy Ghost.

But when the Church and churches, were further advanced and grown in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and more capable of the doctrines of the Gospel, and spirituality of them, and the apostles themselves further opened and instructed therein by the Spirit of Christ, they were now more explicit and plain in this doctrine of baptism, than at first, as well as others: For though there had been divers intermediate baptisms, before that of John's, under various dispensations, they all concentered in one at last; where the Apostle saith, "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all: For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ: For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit; for the body is not one member, but many. And Christ is given of the Father to be the head of all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all."

And the same apostle considers water baptism as of a legal, original nature, and ranks it among the typical rites of the law, saying, "In him (Christ) dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and ye are complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power; in whom also ye are circumcised, with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ. Buried with him in baptism, wherein also you are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead, &c. Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days (or, say I, by a parity of truth, and of the reason of things, of water baptism), which are a shadow of things to come, but the body (or substance) is of Christ, &c. Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments (or elements) of the world;

why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances? Touch not, taste not, handle not (which all are to perish with the using), after the commandments and doctrines of men," &c.

Again, the baptism of the Holy Spirit of Christ hath effects following it, which no other baptism ever had, hath, or can have: that is to say, those who happily obtain it through faith in that Holy Spirit, by which alone it can be administered, "are dead unto sin, and walk in newness of life," and thenceforth do not serve sin. And "as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." The old man, in such, is crucified, and the body of sin destroyed; and therefore they do not serve sin, being freed from it as if they were naturally dead; and that as certainly as Christ died, and as fully as he rose again from the dead. And therefore consider, O priest and people, what all your washings, sprinklings, touchings, tastings, eatings, drinkings, sabbaths, holy days, and others your carnal ordinances and rites, have done for you, lest, notwithstanding all these, you die in your sins, and then he who is Truth hath said, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins; and whither I go ye cannot come." And though the Almighty Father of the universe hath sent his eternal Son as a divine light into all the world, according to his promise, I doubt ye do not, as such, believe in him, or, by faith, receive, obey, and follow him, as the immediate object and conductor of your minds; and if you die in that state of unbelief and disobedience, the consequence, you may see, is dreadful.

Now, having set forth what was the practice of the apostles of Christ concerning water baptism, and the true foundation of it; and that there was no new institution of any other water baptism by Christ, at the time mentioned by Matthew, or anywhere else, but that the Lord speaks there of the baptism of the Spirit only; I now proceed to take notice of what your minister hath said, that all ages, since the days of the apostles, have been in the practice of water baptism, which declares they have ever so understood it, from that age until

now. This is a fallacious position, adduced as a foundation for a wrong inference and conclusion; whether wilfully to impose upon you and me, and continue and confirm you in error; or ignorantly, as knowing no better, I shall not determine: for water baptism hath not been so practised, but was early laid aside and neglected; and another thing, which is no baptism, introduced, practised, and continued, instead, of both it and the baptism of the Holy Ghost: so that they have indeed had no baptism at all. For there is no account of infant baptism in all the Holy Scriptures, that it was ever instituted by Christ, or practised by any of the apostles; but was pretended, by its inventors and imposers, long after the time of the apostles, to have been an apostolical tradition from about the seventieth year of the first century; and as the true Church became more and more obscured, by the dark inventions of antichristian professors and pretenders to Christianity, the worldly-minded and learned among them introduced many errors into the Christian profession, quite opposite and inconsistent with the nature of it, and infant baptism among the rest; which the worldly-wise first talked and disputed among themselves: and then as the poor dark people were gradually prepared to receive those errors, the inventors thereof publicly preached them up as proper and necessary, until their party became numerous, and of sufficient power to impose them even on such as did see those errors, and rejected them; which was not done till about the beginning of the fourth century; when at a council held at Melevitan, original sin, baptizing children, and other matters were moved and hotly debated among the worldly-wise and humanly learned of that age (who are always the disturbers, distemper, and fever of the Church), it was determined by ninety-two of them only, in these terms, "It is our will, that all who affirm that young children receive everlasting life, albeit they be not, by the sacrament of grace, or baptism, renewed; and that will not that young children, which are new-born from their mother's womb, shall be baptized, to the taking away original sin, that they be anathematized:" that is, accursed. Which,

in another like council at Carthage, in the year 416, was confirmed in these words (as they are translated into English, in Henry D'Anvers's Treatise of Baptism, second edition, page 106), "We will, that whoever deny that little children, by baptism, are freed from perdition, and eternally saved, that they be accursed."

Now, people, here is the mere will of an ignorant cursing club, of who knows who, calling themselves a general council, and representatives of the whole Church of Christ, acting under manifest errors about original sin, as if it affected the eternal state of all infants; and that they, by their own contrivance, could prevent it and save them; introducing and establishing, by their own authority, a false doctrine and practice; calling it an ordinance of Christ, though foreign, and a stranger and strangers to the Holy Scriptures, both as to doctrine and practice; without any foundation but the mere will and pleasure of a majority only of this cursing company; whose behavior and language herein clearly demonstrates, that the counsel of Christ did not preside there: But their decree being afterward confirmed by the Bishop of Rome (who had, by this time, assumed great authority and power), the errors took place so long ago, and have continued among them, and their successors, ever since (but not in the Church of Christ); with this alteration, that though, for some time, they baptized the children, yet, finding some inconvenience in that manner of doing it, they altered it to rantizing or sprinkling, though many, in the most early times of those innovations, and through all ages, have opposed them in this, as well as in many other errors: For which those witnesses to the truth have, from generation to generation been martyred and destroyed, by that wilful, cursing, antichristian hierarchy, and their successors; and still are unto this day, in one part or other of the world.

This being a true state of the case, upon what rotten antichristian foundation the practice, not of baptism, but rantism, is erected and established; not washing or dipping in water, but sprinkling, and that only the face; not of all ages since

the days of the apostles, but thus begun in the fourth century, not by the pure Church of Christ; which, under him, and in his counsel, is the ground and pillar of Truth; but by a degenerate, apostatized company of antichrists; by whose doings, and establishments in their own wills, the succeeding ages have been imposed upon, and many still are until now: and therefore, this practice, thus founded, is no proof at all for the support of sprinkling of infants, or baptizing in water at this day, nor are we breakers of any ordinance or command of Christ on that account.

The priest gave many unmannerly interruptions during this time; but was sometimes reproved by the justices, especially by Captain Basset, who had great sway among them, though one of the youngest men among them, but of good temper and understanding. His reasons for interrupting me (he said) were these: "That if he did not answer things as they were moved, he would forget great part of them, and so they might pass unanswered, and take with the people." However, I came at length to inform the people how this error of sprinkling came to take place in New England; viz., By the coming over of some of the ancient Puritans, Independents, and Presbyterians, into that country, not then, in that point, fully reformed from the Church of Rome, the original and maintainer of that pernicious error; by whom it was continued. And seeing sprinkling is no baptism, you have none at all, but an old invention and relict of the Church of Rome. Wherefore I exhort you to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, that you may be baptized of him, and saved; since he himself hath said, as on Holy Record, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned."

The priest stormed much at this, saying to a Friend as I was speaking, "See how smooth he goes, and makes all look as even as he pleases; let him alone, and the people will take all this for granted," and then arose violently from his seat and interrupted me, so that I could not finish that part as I in-

tended : And yet I thought much of what I had said remained with the more intelligent sort of the people.

Then said the priest, "I dare appeal to yourself, if you know anything of the Greek language, whether the Greek word there translated baptize, doth not signify to wash with water." If so, said I, it is against thee ; for thou dost not wash infants, but sprinkle them, or pour water upon them. But as to the Greek, though I do not profess to be learned in that language, yet I think I have acquired a competent knowledge of it so far as the point in question is concerned therein. The word baptism is a Greek word anglicised. In the Greek it is *βαπτισμα*, which comes of the word *βαπτω*, which in Latin is *Mergo*, *quasi in mare ago, vel in aquam eo*, to drown or sink in water, to dip, to overwhelm, to plunge, to thrust in, to go into water, to dive, to baptize, to wash. And *εμβαπτο* comes of *βαπτω*, *intingo*, and is much the same with *βαπτίζω* ; and also signifies to dip into, to steep, or to infuse, to dye, or color, or to intincture, or, as it were, to impregnate one thing with the nature of another, or with its accidents ; and therefore a proper word whereby to signify baptism with or in the Spirit, as well, or rather than in water. And though the word *βαπτίζω* sometimes in authors signifies to sprinkle, yet I have never found it in Scripture to signify sprinkling, but always dipping, going into, or overwhelming in water. And seeing Christ himself saith, that "He that is washed needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit," it is most probable, that, considering the multitudes baptized by John, and other circumstances, going into the water and having their feet washed, was the most proper and true form used in that day : But baptism having been generally (though not universally) laid aside, and sprinkling introduced and imposed, as I have already said ; those pious reformers from the Church of Rome and her manifold errors, taking the word baptize to signify to overwhelm or plunge ; and, comparing it with that Scripture, where it is said, "We are buried with him (Christ) by baptism into death," might reasonably enough fall into that manner of baptizing, as those called

Baptists now use, since neither in those days, nor hitherto, they saw, or do see, that all water baptism, in every mode, is effectually ended, in point of obligation, by the manifestation and establishment of the baptism into the Holy Spirit, the eternal and permanent substance.

Again, as washing is a different thing from sprinkling, and a different way of applying water (or other fluids) to various purposes, is needful, so the Greeks, as well as we, had different words whereby to express those several acts, applications, or things done with water, or other liquid or fluid; and the word baptize is commonly applied to washing, &c. (as I have said before), water being the common instrument of it among mankind. But there are several other things wherewith washing and cleansing may be performed; and therefore the word baptize, signifying to wash, is most proper and indefinitely used, as not implying water necessarily or only: For the Spirit of Christ, by which his baptism is performed, is expressly called "living water" by Christ himself. And the Almighty is pleased to call himself "the fountain of living waters." And there is a baptism or washing (cleansing) with fire. And there is a washing in the blood of the Lamb of God. All which are no other than one and the same thing, expressed in various terms and phrases; that is, the baptism of the Holy Spirit of Christ, and nothing else.

And as to the word *βαπτίζω* or *βαίνω*, it signifies in Latin, *aspergo*; to sprinkle, wet, or moisten, to mix finely, to mention briefly, to interlace, to powder, to infect. And though the word *βαπτίζω* is taken sometimes, as I have said, for sprinkling, it is never so applied in Scripture, that I can find; but whenever the thing sprinkling is intended to be expressed the word *βαπτίζω*, in its various moods and tenses, is always used, as being the proper Greek word for sprinkling; and not *βαπτίζω*, which signifies dipping.

In Heb. ix. 19, it is *ἐρράντισε*. Heb. x. 22, Chap. xii. 24, and 1 Pet. i. 2, it is *βαπτισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *aspersione sanguinis Jesu Christi*, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. And, Heb. ix. 13, *βαπτίσθησα*; and, chap. ix. 21,

ἐρράντισε, *aspersit*, he sprinkled. By all which, as by many other places, both in the Old Testament and in the New, it is evident, that though the word, βαπτισω, by some is held to signify, to sprinkle, as well as ραντισω (by which they would serve their own perverse turn and mercenary ends, and make sprinkling and baptizing to be the same); that it never can be so, unless they can change the nature and order of things.

And now, to sum up the whole matter on this head, and justly apologize further for our omitting water baptism: As the Apostle Paul was, in a particular manner, sent by the command of Christ from heaven, to preach the Gospel and kingdom of God to the Gentiles, and yet not sent by him to baptize (much less to rantize) them with water; and as his ministry was effectual, to all the great ends of the Gospel, without it; so we likewise have a degree of the ministration of the same Gospel (for there is not another) committed unto us, by the Spirit of Christ (who is the same now as then) to the offspring of the Gentiles, though we have no authority from the Lord, either to baptize or rantize any with elementary water; and therefore do not practise it in any mode, lest it should be said unto us by the Lord at last, "Who hath required it at your hands?" And that "they ran, and I sent them not: teaching for doctrine the tradition of men;" making the doctrines and baptism of Christ of none effect to this generation, as the Scribes and Pharisees of old unto that, by their own inventions and traditions; and not profiting the people at all thereby, but destroying them: and therefore we are not breakers of the command of Christ on that account, as here falsely charged upon us, this day, by this your teacher, as often likewise by others such as he is.

To all this my opponent made no reply, but began to maintain his charge as well as he could, "That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith and the rule of life." He attempted first to prove that the Scriptures are the word of God; and that, as such, they are the ground of faith, and rule of life, thus: "Christ reproving the Scribes and Pharisees concerning their traditions, told them, 'they had

made the word of God of none effect thereby;' and seeing he here expressly calls the Scriptures 'the word of God,' consequently they must be the ground of faith and rule of life."

To which I answered, That the particular subject there treated of is the fifth commandment, not the Scriptures; where the Lord Christ chargeth them with laying aside the commandment of God, and giving contrary commandments of their own; rejecting the commandment of God that they might keep their own tradition: So that what is called the word of God in the 13th verse of that chapter is the fifth commandment, and not the Scriptures: And the Evangelist Matthew, writing of the same passage, calls it the commandment all along throughout the chapter, and never calls it the word of God; nor doth the Scripture anywhere call itself the word of God; but gives that title, justly, properly, and only to Christ in his spiritual appearance, both in the Old and New Testament: First in the Old, where it is written, "For this commandment, which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, &c., but the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

This was not any of the ten commandments written on tables of stone (though indeed the root of all the commandments of God), nor was there much of the Scripture then written; but this was the Spirit of Christ before his incarnation; of whom Peter testifies, that he was in the prophets, and testified beforehand his sufferings (in the flesh, and that many hundred years before his manifestation therein), and the glory that should follow: Of whom the Apostle Paul likewise bears testimony in these words, "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven (that is, to bring Christ down from above)? or Who shall descend into the deep (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead)? but what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is the word of faith which we preach." And the word, we, in this place, shows, that it was not the testimony of that apostle only, but likewise of all the rest of the apostles and ministers of Christ

in that day, that Christ himself is the only word of the Father essentially; and there is not another.

Again the Evangelist John testifies of Christ after this manner, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," &c. Now these things cannot be truly (or with any sense) said of the Scriptures; for the Spirit of Christ is not the Scriptures, though they testify of him: The Scriptures never ascended into heaven, neither did they descend into the deep and rise again: Neither is the Scripture the word of faith; neither were they in the beginning; nor are they God; nor was anything at all made by them: But all things were made some thousands of years before there were any Scriptures in the world; which was not (any now extant) until the days of Moses, who writ but a small part of them: Nor do the world now know God, or the word of God, by the Scriptures; nor were they ever made flesh: They are not therefore the word of God, and consequently, not that rule, by your minister's own way of reasoning; but as the Apostle Peter testifies, "that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation: for the prophecy came not in old time, by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

And concerning those Scriptures which Peter speaks of (the Scriptures of the New Testament not being then written), the Lord Jesus said to the Jews, who had them, though they did not understand them, or know him by them, "Ye have not his (the Father's) word abiding in you; for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye may have life." Here Christ, the word of God, is again distinguished from the Scriptures; they are not that word, but bear testimony of him: And so do the Scriptures of both Testaments still, and

will through ages to come : But I beseech you, be you also aware, lest, while you seem to magnify the Scriptures, as the Jews did, you likewise fall into the like errors, and they become of none effect also unto you, through your own vain inventions and traditions, and fall short of eternal life, as they did, through a wilful neglect of the manifestations, admonitions, and operations of the Spirit of Christ, the word of God, in your own hearts ; the grace of God given unto you, in you as a free and constant teacher in the way of truth and salvation ; and lest you be found of the number of those at last of whom it is prophesied in the Holy Scriptures, where it is said, “The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but, after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers having itching ears : And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.”

Then I said to the people, I was willing to carry the subject and argument this length for your information, because I fully desire the welfare and salvation of every one of you ; but your teacher, unaware, gave up his own cause in his own way of reasoning : for upon a wrong supposition, that the Scripture is the word of God, he grounded his position, “that it is the ground of faith and rule of life ;” whereas the Scripture itself saith, “faith is the gift of God,” and, consequently, not acquired by reading or hearing the Scriptures ; which the Jews had, and highly esteemed, as much as you can do, and yet did not, by all the evidence of them, believe in Christ, the Saviour of the world.

I shall now invert this assertion, and establish the point contrary to his doctrine, in a few words, and say, that what, or whoever is the word of God, the same is the ground of faith, and rule of life : But the Lord Jesus Christ, and not the Scriptures, is the word of God, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead substantially : He is the wisdom and power of the Father, and therefore is the ground of faith, the faith of the operation of God by him, and the rule and ruler of that life, which himself is the author and giver of.

Then I informed the people, that we ever had a great esteem

of the Scriptures, as believing them to be given by divine inspiration (the priest having, in our discourse, urged that passage where it is said, "The Scripture is able to make thee wise unto salvation;" leaving out, "through faith in Christ Jesus," which is the main point), but make wise only through faith in Christ: so that faith must go before; and the apostles had believed before their understandings were opened to know the Scriptures.

My opponent gave me several interruptions during this time; yet I am persuaded divers of the people understood, and received in their minds the truth of much of what I delivered. The dispute held about seven hours, and by this time it was near sunset; so that we adjourned to Captain Basset's house, to which we were invited; where we had some more discourse about the call to the ministry, and their maintenance, wherein the priest said, "that Christ's ministers had a command from him, in Matt. xxviii. 19, to teach and baptize all nations."

I replied, that command was not to any others but the apostles in that day; and the call to the ministry, and qualifications of the ministers of Christ, is a new work of the Holy Spirit of Christ, in all ages of the world from that time, and ever will be; and never can be by tradition or imitation, how nicely soever counterfeited: and if he had no other foundation for his ministry than that, he had none at all in a Gospel sense: But seeing he had alleged that text for his ministry, and a command thereby from Christ, to teach and baptize all nations, he seemed to be greatly deficient in his obedience and performance; since, I perceived, he had been long in that place, if not all the time of his ministry, and had not travelled through, or in any one nation on that account, and taught but a few, nor baptized any at all; for sprinkling of infants is no baptism.

Then he turned the question upon me, and asked, "if I had been in any nation, but one, on that account in our way?" To which I answered, that question is not so proper to me on that subject, seeing I do not pretend to have had my ministry from

that command, but by the immediate work and manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in me; being opened, drawn, led, directed, and governed thereby in the love of it, in my ministry, from time to time, and place to place, as it pleaseth him, and not in my own time and will; and yet not confined or limited to any, or restrained: Nevertheless, to answer thy question directly, I have travelled through most parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and many colonies of America, in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Gospel, and that freely, and without charge to any, save to eat and drink, in the course of my travels, such things as were freely set before me, by such as received my ministry in the same love of Christ in the Gospel, in which I have travelled and labored; which is the way of our ministers in general everywhere: But I have not baptized any with water; for Christ sent me not to baptize that way, but to preach the Gospel according to the measure given me: adding that a maintenance in a particular settled place, as I reasonably could suppose, might be all he aimed at by his ministry.

He replied, "he was, according to the advice of the Apostle Paul, to give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; to meditate upon these things, to give himself wholly up to them, that his profiting might appear to all; which he could not do without a reasonable subsistence."

To this I answered, these Scriptures and advice belong to a minister of Christ, as Timothy was; but they are nothing to such as are not in Timothy's condition: and thou hast omitted to mention the main point there exhorted to; that is, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee," &c., without which all thy ministry will be dead, and thy reading of no value to the end of a Gospel ministry: For the apostle doth not there write of the studies of our "modern masters of arts," as they call themselves, as appears by these words, "O, Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and opposition of science, falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith" (for my opponent had, in the meeting-house, talked of syllogisms,

and such like learning); but the particular things Timothy was to study, were these (though he was but a young man), "To be an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity; to take heed unto himself, and unto his doctrine, to continue in them," &c. And that reading must relate most, if not only, to the Holy Scriptures, since he excludes such science: and, in his next Epistle, knowing that without the opening of the gift of the Spirit of Christ reading of the Scriptures would not be rightly profitable or understood, he exhorts Timothy, "that he stir up the gift of God which was in him;" and, afterwards, further exhorts him, to continue in the things which he had learned, and had been assured of, knowing of whom he had learned them: and that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus (which faith is the gift of God, and not acquired by reading). "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." But all this is attained by believing in, and adhering to the gift of God, and the work of it within, and not otherwise; and therefore I exhort thee, and all these people, to believe in the grace of God in yourselves respectively, that you may all be taught and perfected thereby, and finally saved, which I heartily pray unto God for every one of you.

And, as the Apostle Paul saith, concerning himself and his ministry, "Though I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel: For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will, a dispensation of the Gospel is committed unto me: What is my reward then? Verily, that when I preach the Gospel, I may make the Gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the Gospel:" and accordingly "he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him," and appealed to the Church at Ephesus, that he had coveted no

man's silver or gold, or apparel; yea, yourselves know, that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how, that so laboring, ye ought to support the weak; and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Thus the apostle exercised his ministry in its full extent, and, no doubt, had done all those things himself to which he exhorted Timothy: So that an honest employ to live by, that the Gospel may not be chargeable, is very consistent with it. And as to the words "wholly to them," in his said Epistle to Timothy, it can mean no more than that he should not neglect any time to do these things in every opportunity; the gift there spoken of being fully sufficient of itself to everything there exhorted unto, save only reading; which might well be done, without any hinderance to a necessary bodily labor, for his own maintenance at least. But in all this we do not find anything of bargain and sale of the mere dead letter of the book; which, without the life of him who first gave it forth, killeth; or any human and false glosses thereon, in the will and natural abilities of man, sold at a dear rate to the people for Gospel, which it is not; nor any mercenary preliminaries settled beforehand, as conditions of preaching those fallacious medleys for Gospel; or of any security to be given for the performance of such blind bargains; nor of procuring or making human laws, by the violence whereof to extort them, and from such too as are neither parties nor privies to such works; nor is there anything in those, or other Scriptures, of any contributions previously settled, and without which no preachment; according to the proverb, "No penny, no pater noster." There is nothing of all this, nor of the nature and tendency of it, in all the Holy Scriptures or Gospel of the Lord Jesus.

This nettled my antagonist much; and, at the conclusion of it, I took paper, and gave him in writing what I had affirmed and maintained before, viz.:

That a state of perfect freedom from sin is, through the grace of God, attainable in this life.

And likewise of what he had asserted; viz., "That the Quakers held lying and damnable principles; and that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith and rule of life:" telling him, before the chiefs of the people still remaining with us, that I had, in the meeting-house, sufficiently proved my position, but he had failed in his; and therefore left them upon him as false assertions, till he had (if he could do it) proved them in writing, since he had in conference given me so many rude interruptions; and then he might expect an answer, either a refutation or acknowledgment: for the latter whereof I see no cause, nor ever shall, I am well assured. And thus this long contest ended for that time, but without any personal rancor, I believe, on either side.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A YOUNG MAN AT SCITUATE.

1704.

SALVATION OF INFANTS, ETC.

ON the 27th of the Second month I had a meeting appointed at Scituate; where came occasionally a young man from Connecticut, who took some exceptions against what I said in the meeting, about infants, and their salvation by Christ, and about baptism; and as we rode towards Edward Wanton's one told me of it; and I desired the same person to tell the young man (being a Presbyterian or Independent), that if he pleased to go to the house of our Friend with us, I would endeavor to satisfy him; and he did so. There I told him, I understood he was not satisfied with something I had said in the meeting concerning infants; and therefore asked him, what he believed concerning them?

He said, "he believed they were all damned, who died unbaptized." Then I asked him, if he believed all of them were saved that were baptized, as he called it? He answered, "No." What, then, said I, makes the difference? Then, after a pause of silence, he replied, "They were all damned, and that many millions of them, not a span long, were hanging in hell." I asked him why he thought so? He answered, "Because they cannot believe in Christ." I replied, neither can they commit sin; nor can they believe who are baptized and saved, as thy first answer implies, though thou hast receded from it since. Then said he, "they sinned in Adam." I answered, that "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall (the same) all be made alive." But said he, again, "they cannot believe in Christ."

Then, said I, dost thou not believe that many ages and nations of people fell under some disadvantages by Adam's sin, who never heard of him outwardly? He said, "Yes." Then, said I, why may not they, through the boundless mercy and goodness of God, manifested by Christ, have the advantage by the death and works of Christ, who never heard of him outwardly? To this he was silent; though in one part of the discourse he said "he believed there were millions of children hanging in hell not a span long:" And then I went on and preached to the auditory (some others being present), that "where there is no law, there is no transgression;" and little children being incapable of any law but that of nature, which they cannot break, consequently they cannot sin: and that though for some time under the law, and first covenant with the Jews (1491 years before Christ), the sins of the fathers were to be visited upon the children, not for ever, but only unto the third and fourth generation; not such as loved God, but such as hated him; upon which a proverb arose among the people, that "the fathers have ate a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge:" But this proverb was to cease, and was annulled of God, as by the testimony of two of his great prophets, by whom it is written, in the name of the Lord: First, by Jeremiah (606 years before Christ), who saith, "In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge." And this was to be under the new covenant, come by the Lord Jesus Christ, now in force. Secondly, by Ezekiel (about 112 years after), who hath it much more at large, thus: "What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel: Behold all the souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine, the soul that sinneth, it shall die." And there are many conditions in this eighteenth chapter of

Ezekiel respecting the life and death of the righteous and wicked, and the changes which may happen to both, from state to state, by their own acts, or omissions of known duties, from which, in the nature of persons and things, little children, as such, are exempted; and the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant (by which the first is ended), hath suffered for them, with all mankind, and declared them innocent, by taking them in his arms, blessing them, and saying, that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." And the apostle saith, that sin was in the world before the law, but it was not imputed: so that, though there be a seed of sin in children, which in time may spring up, unto which, if they join by any sinful act, as mankind too commonly and universally do, they are thereby brought under the law, or power of sin; not by the transgression of Adam, the common father of all after the flesh, but by their own, as Adam was; yet until children be capable of the knowledge of good and evil, by the law of the new covenant of light and grace, sin is not imputed, and there being nothing to condemn them until they have sinned, consequently they are all saved; and therefore sprinkling them under these bare words, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," without the power, is false in fact, and a profanation of that holy name, though under pretence to take away original sin, and save them; which is an act of great ignorance, or wilful supererogation; to no purpose, but to bring reverence, honor, and gain unto proud, covetous, vain-glorious, imposing priests; and is no ordinance of Christ, but an antichristian forgery and Popish relic. After this the young man was silent as to any reply on the subject; but confessed he now believed that there could not be any little children in hell, but that all of them are saved; and he parted with us in a very friendly manner.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLONEL DUDLY, GOVERNOR.

1704.

ON WAR.

ON the first of the third month, the third of the week, Daniel Zachary, Samuel Collins of Lynn, and I, went to the Governor, Colonel Dudley, and requested him to release our Friends. He received us respectfully, and seemed to lament our condition, as a people, that we should expose ourselves to such sufferings. I answered, that it was not in our own wills but in obedience to the doctrine of Christ; who said unto his disciples, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." "Ye have heard, that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment: Again, ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies."

Now, seeing anger without a cause, and hatred unto enemies is the cause of killing, and both condemned; and love, which is contrary thereunto, recommended and commanded; then they who believe and obey this doctrine, cannot kill any; no, not even enemies. It is not, therefore, lawful unto us, who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and obey his doctrine, in hopes of eternal life in his kingdom, which is not of this world, to go to war, lest we should forego and forfeit our portion in

him, and become unworthy of life in him, by disobedience to his manifest will, under the dispensation of his Gospel.

The Governor answered, "That he was no disputant about religion; but, to tell you the truth, said he, seeing the judges have given such a judgment, I cannot tell how to dispense with it; especially now in the time of war, when everybody thinks there is both so much need of help, and just cause of war."

I urged again the prophecy, that "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares," &c. "That day," said he, "is not come; for you see many nations are at war at this time."

I replied, that proves that though that dispensation of peace is come in point of time, yet those who are in wars are not in the life nor doctrine of Christ, but in the first Adam and fallen nature; but this dispensation is effectually begun in some, and will go on, and over all in time; and whatever it may be to you who have not embraced it, though offered unto you, it is not lawful for us to whom it is come (since we have received it), to fight: We desire, therefore, we may not be required to fight, but left to our Christian liberty to do or forbear, as we are persuaded in our consciences is best, and most suitable to the doctrine and practice of our great Lord, Master, and example, the Captain of our salvation; who came into the world, not to destroy the lives of mankind, but to save them.

Then said the Governor, "it would be better if all were so; but if I should release your friends, I should be much blamed by the country; who have formerly been very hard upon me as well as upon you: But I endeavor to forget it, and so would I have you."

I answered, we have no enmity against that people for anything they have formerly, or now done to us; but rather desired they might be brought into a condition of forgiveness by amendment; and added, that since the judges had given judgment otherwise than the law directs, and execution already performed further than their own law reacheth, or can support them in, it was in the Governor's power, as I apprehended, to release the young men.

"Then," said he, "you may have remedy by law, if you are

wronged." But, said I, we sue for favor and justice at the fountain head, in this country, and not to be at the trouble, delay, and expense to send to England about it; and the justices were told at the same time, and Colonel Byfield, Chief Justice, in particular, before sentence, that this was more than the law could justify them in, he having told us what he intended; and being poor men, and not having wherewithal to appeal from court to court, in a legal procedure, which would be very chargeable; and besides, what remedy could be expected from men who had acted arbitrarily and contrary to their own laws already: We therefore desire their release.

The Governor replied to the like effect as before, "that the country would be about his ears, if he should do that, but, said he, it is a harmless thing to work at the castle; they need not fight there." But, said I, that is an erection for war, and we cannot be active in such works as may be thought necessary there. And so, finding nothing could be done at that time, we fell into some discourse on some other subjects.

CHAPTER XXV.

JOHN COTTON, A PRESBYTERIAN.

1704.

BAPTISM AND THE SUPPER.

ALIGHTING at Joseph Chase's by the way, his wife (not a Friend) told me, their minister, John Cotton, a Presbyterian, having heard of me, had a great desire to see me, and she persuaded me to call at his house as I went, being near the highway; which accordingly I did.

He was very civil, and we had about two hours' conference concerning several points (the Town Major being present), especially Baptism and the Supper; the observation whereof, in their own way and modes, seemed to be the sum of their religion: yet I believe his understanding was reached as to several points of doctrine; but he seemed unwilling to own it.

Among other things, I exhorted him not to sit down under those imperfect, inadequate, and dark shadows, short of the divine substance, nor persuade the people to rest there, for you have no baptism instituted by the Lord Christ; for the only baptism remaining in his Church, is that by his Holy Spirit: And as to the true supper, it is the flesh and blood of Christ, the soul-quickening spirit and life from God, which whosoever eateth and drinketh, dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him, the ministration whereof is in the words of Christ, the Word of God, by whom mankind are quickened, raised from death unto life, and live in him and by him for ever; which cannot be effected by any other minister or ministration: And if mankind could, by any means, eat the flesh and

drink the blood of Christ, in a literal or symbolical sense, that would not profit them, for it is the Spirit only, by the working of his Almighty power in the soul, which quickeneth it, "the flesh profiteth nothing;" for Christ himself placeth the sum of that whole divine matter upon the Spirit. John Cotton was a mild and temperate spirited man; and we parted in friendship.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MAJOR PIKE.

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1704.
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TRIAL OF SPIRITS.

AFTER this meeting Jacob Moral of Salisbury informed me, that he had been with several persons in that town, in order to have a meeting among them, but they generally refused; the old stock of persecutors, still ruling there, being much against it; but the younger people were, for the most part, for it. And that at last he had gone to one Major Pike (an ancient man who had been very contentious, so that every man's hand had been against him, and he against every man), and desired his consent that we might have a meeting in their meeting-house, to which the Major assented; and said also, that if we could not have their meeting-house to meet in for once, we should have his house, and accordingly Jacob Moral had given notice of a meeting to be there the next day.

Both Friends and others went to the place about the tenth hour next morning, and the Major seemed very open and free; and seats being ranged and many people set down, all of a sudden, and without any provocation, save from the evil one in himself, the Major began to be very turbulent and abu-

sive, saying, "Friends, if I may call you so, what is your business here? what means all this concourse of people?" To which Jacob Moral answered, "We have come here to have a meeting, according to the liberty thou hast given us." Then said he, "You told me of a man that had a message from heaven to the people; which if he hath, let him say on: but for my part, I did not expect such a multitude, neither did I intend any such leave to such a people as ye are." Then he gave us much ill and abusive language, saying, "we were led by the Spirit of the Devil."

At length I stood up and told him, that I was the person intended in what had been said; but as for a message from heaven, in his sense, I had not pretended to it; but in the love of God, through a stranger, desired to have a meeting among such of the people as were free to come; and had been credibly informed we had obtained the liberty of his house for that purpose, or else we should not have given him that trouble.

Then Jacob Moral cleared the matter, affirming in the audience of the people, "that he never said anything of a message from heaven, but only, that a travelling Friend, in the love of God, had a mind to see them in a meeting; which the Major had given leave should be there in his house."

Notwithstanding this, the Major persisted in his abuses, alleging that Scripture against us, and applying it unduly, "Try the spirits, believe not every spirit," &c. I asked him, By what means are spirits to be known? He replied, "By the word of God, the rule," meaning the Scriptures. I replied that the Scripture itself could not be the rule in that case; for it could not be rightly understood or applied without the Spirit of God, by which it was given forth; and that by which the letter of the book came and was given, must, in common sense, be more excellent than the letter, and a superior rule: yet we highly esteem the Holy Scriptures, and ever have done, as the best secondary rule in the world, as subordinate to the Holy Spirit, and as opened and applied by him: But seeing the Scriptures tell us of some who confess Christ

with their mouths, or in words, but in their works deny him; and that the tree is known by its fruit; thou thyself looks like one of those evil spirits, who are to be discerned, known, and tried by their evil, reproachful, and contentious words and works; even by thy false accusations, abuses, and unworthy treatment of us at this time; who are come, not in our own names, but in the name and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, to visit this people; and more especially by thy denying and blaspheming against the Spirit of Christ; by which we are led into all truth, and not by the evil one, as thou hast falsely accused us: But the Scripture which thou hast hinted at, and misapplied, is this, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which doth not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: And this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already it is in the world."

Now, thou hast not heard any of us deny that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh; and I do not doubt but every one here believeth and confesseth it, unless thou thyself be the exception.

And yet a verbal acknowledgment only, of the coming of Christ in his body of flesh in that day, is not intended in this place; for the devils also believe that and tremble, and yet remain devils still: But this confession must arise from experience of the working, revelation, or manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in the heart and mind of him who thereby believeth in Christ, to present salvation; according to the same apostle a little below, where he saith, "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." Again saith the Apostle Paul, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." And again, "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Whose then art thou?

This made the old persecutor mad with rage for a time, and he began to rub up his old rusty tools of persecution, asking me whence I came? and threatened to order me into custody: but finding Truth over his spirit, and I above him therein, I replied, that if he had thought fit at first to have refused us his house to meet in, we could not have blamed him; but since he had once granted it, and now used us ill, it was unbecoming a man of honor, his office, and a Christian.

Then the invisible power of the divine truth bound his unruly spirit, and he began to fall and grow more calm, and offered us his orchard to meet in: But I replied, that seeing he had so spitefully reproached the Spirit of Christ, in whose name and grace we had come there, by his own concession, to worship God, visit the people, and in his love to inform and instruct them; and had broken his word so evidently, and abused us so very much, though strangers, and that too in his own house, without any provocation by any of us, we should not accept it, but testify against that spirit which ruled so lately in him, and against his unchristian practice and behavior in and by it, despising his orchard and all he had: adding, that he should remember, that he had that day rejected the Truth, and those who dwell therein.

And so we went out, leaving him foaming and silent in his chair.

CHAPTER XXVII.

AN OBJECTOR.

1704.

WOMEN'S PREACHING.

THEN there appeared one, who said, "he had something to object against what the woman (Lydia Norton) said in the meeting." I asked him what it was? Then said he, "I went away as soon as she began to speak, not thinking it fit to hear a woman." I replied, How canst thou object against what thou didst not hear? At this he was confounded and silent awhile; but, recovering himself a little, he then said, "he had not heard all she said." I replied, Thou first said thou went away as soon as she began to speak, and therefore could not make any objection; and now, to qualify that blunder, thou says thou didst not hear all that she said. How couldst thou hear all, if thou went off and would not hear any? Or if thou hadst heard anything at all distinctly, and not the whole, yet to object is unfair still; for how dost thou know but that the latter part of her speech might qualify the former, so as not to leave any room for objection? Then being again confounded and ashamed, and the people deriding him, he made his objection at large against women's preaching at all, saying, that the Apostle Paul said to the Corinthians, "I will that women keep silence in the Church." I answered, that the apostle said, "your women" only, and not women indefinitely, without exception; which he denied: Then one offered him a Bible to look into the place; which he refused, and went off, pretending to go into a house to fetch one; but never returned. Then I opened that point more fully to the people, saying, That

no interpretation of Scripture ought to be advanced, or admitted, which makes it contradict itself, or one part of it another; or one apostle oppose another, or contradict himself or any of the prophets, or the matters of fact recorded in Holy Writ, relating to the public ministry of holy women in the Church of Christ, or otherwise.

1st. Then, you may observe what Joel, the prophet, said (many ages before the days of the apostles), relating to the dispensation of the Gospel in this point, and the publishers of it, "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days, will I pour out my Spirit."

The Apostle Peter, being filled with the Holy Ghost, declares this prophecy to relate to the dispensation of the Gospel, and to begin at that time of the great and glorious effusion of the Holy Spirit of Christ at Jerusalem, saying, "This is that which was spoken of by the Prophet Joel, And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and so repeats the prophecy at large.

Now, it is reasonably and morally certain, by a just and undeniable consequence, that the Spirit of Christ came, at that time, upon the holy women present, and that the women or some of them, preached Christ to the multitude, as well as the men, having been his witnesses as well as they; or otherwise the application Peter made of that prophecy to that instance, could not have been adequate, and without exception, or a reasonable objection: For, if no women had spoken, or preached Christ there at that time, it might have been said, that the prophet mentions women as well as men, daughters equal with sons, but here only sons appear in this dispensation and occasion; and therefore that prophecy cannot relate to it: But no objection of this nature appearing, it strongly follows, that some women preached there as well as the men at that time.

2dly. If daughters were not to preach as well as sons, handmaids as well as other servants, this prophecy could never be

fulfilled, and consequently must be false; which to say or think, would be profane and blasphemous, and cannot be admitted in any wise.

3dly. The Apostle Paul saith in that place, "Let your women keep silence in the churches (that is in the meetings or congregations), for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: For it is a shame for women to speak in the Church" (or congregation).

4thly. Saith the same apostle elsewhere, on another occasion, "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."

By all which it appears, that the apostle was not prohibiting women in general, when inspired by Christ, and thereby qualified for such services, to preach or pray publicly in the congregation; but such only as were imperious, insulting, ignorant, untaught, and unlearned in the way of Christ and religion; and also talkative, asking bold and impertinent questions in the congregations, occasioning debates, heats, contentions, and confusion. Such were not to be suffered in such evil work, but to be obedient to their husbands (for he aimed at some married women), and learn of them at home in modest and decent silence; it being a shame both to the women themselves, and the congregations of the faithful, that such women should be permitted to speak in that manner in a public way, to disturb them, and hinder their devotion, and the public service and ministry of such of either sex as were duly qualified and sent in the wisdom and power of the Holy Spirit: And we as a people, are of the same mind, that neither such women (nor men) ought to be suffered in such destructive work; but to be silent, and learn there, behaving therein with modesty and bashfulness becoming their sex, and the nature and end of what they undertake; and not with strutting masculine airs as heroines, which in the female sex is blameworthy and shameful, and not decent in the males.

5thly. And as to matters of fact, proving that women preached publicly in the Christian congregations in the days of the apostles, Paul recommended Phebe, a sister in Christ, to the congregation then at Rome, as minister, servant, and deaconess of the Church at Cenchrea; and in the same place mentions Priscilla with great respect (placing her before Aquilla her husband), as his helper in Christ Jesus as well as he; which help can refer to nothing else but the work of the ministry, in which they were all jointly and severally concerned and engaged.

6thly. And though Apollos was a man of eloquence, and mighty in the Scriptures, and had been instructed in the way of the Lord in some measure, and had taught the things of the Lord zealously and diligently (knowing only the baptism of John), Priscilla, as well as Aquilla, expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.

And, in the Second Epistle to Timothy, she is again mentioned by Paul himself, before Aquilla her husband; which could not be by the order of nature, with which that apostle was so well acquainted, but as she was preferable in her ministry.

7thly. These instances therefore wherein that great apostle so much approves the public ministry of these holy and inspired women, plainly demonstrate, that he was not against women's preaching in general; for then he must have wrote contradictions in the name of the Lord, which would have destroyed the authority of his own ministry; since no man, speaking or writing by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, speaketh or writeth contrary things; and they cannot both be true, but the one or the other must needs be false, and suggest a reasonable suspicion that both are so: which cannot be thought of any apostle of Christ, or his ministry.

Again, Paul directs how women ought to be adorned, as well as men, in the time of the public exercise of their ministry, or preaching; and if he had been against all women's preaching, and yet given directions concerning that circumstance, he would not have been consistent with himself therein,

nor one part of his ministry with another; for he saith, "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head; but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head;" and more in the same place to that purpose: Which still further proves, that the apostle was not against women's preaching in the congregations, but fully allowed it; only he endeavored to reform some of them in some circumstantial and incidents pertinent to their ministry; in which they were wanting at that time, as some probably may be now.

And also Philip, an evangelist, one of the seven deacons, and an able minister of Christ, had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy; that is, they all preached the Gospel: And seeing they were daughters of so eminent a minister of Christ as Philip was, without all reasonable contradiction, not only Philip himself, but the Churches of Christ, wherever they ministered, approved them therein. Then, if Paul had been against all women's preaching and praying publicly in the Church, and Philip for it, they would have, in that case, contradicted and opposed each other, to the confounding of the people, by a contradictory uncertain ministry; which cannot be admitted by men of truth, and sincere lovers of Christ, and such as honor the Christian religion; who upon the whole, must needs conclude that women as well as men, may and ought to prophesy, preach, and pray publicly in the Church and Churches of Christ, when thereunto qualified and called by Christ, under the immediate direction and influence of his Holy Spirit and power, as those holy women were; without which neither male nor female, under any other qualification or pretence whatsoever, ought to intrude themselves, or meddle, lest that question, under the frown and displeasure of the Almighty, be asked of such, "Who hath required this at thy hand?" and incur a just punishment in the end.

During all this time the people were generally attentive, and seemingly pleased; but, just in the close of the matter, I was attacked, all of a sudden, by a jolly, brisk person, who brake into the crowd behind me on horseback, and, by his garb,

looked like a pastor of the people (and, upon inquiry afterwards, I found he was so), whose first salutation was after this manner: "Are you not ashamed thus to delude the people, imposing upon them false glosses on the Scriptures? I am a stranger on the road, and, drawing near this multitude to know the occasion of it, cannot but appear in defence of truth against your perversions: 'Tis true, you have a smooth way, a gaining countenance, and advantageous mien; but, sir, you look, in all this, the more like an emissary."

This, being sudden, was a little surprising at first; but truth being uppermost, I quickly replied, that he rather looked like a false teacher of the people; and challenged him to instance any particular wherein I had imposed upon them.

He instanced only in this, where I had said Phebe was a minister of the Church; he said, "She was not a minister, but a servant, as appears by the text itself in that place; and it will not bear to be translated minister, as you say."

I replied, servant and minister are synonymous terms, and the word there used may be better translated minister: And if she was a servant, in what other respect to the Church, if not in a public ministry, as a preacher? For Theodore Beza, in his Latin translation from the Greek (from which our English translations are made), hath it minister and not servant, *ministra ecclesiæ cenchreensis*, and, in the Greek Testament, it is *Διακονον*, that is, minister or servant. And I asked him before the people, if he would say, upon his reputation as a minister, as he professed himself to be, that it might not be properly rendered minister; which he refused: and then, in abundance of assurance, said openly, "that I was no Quaker;" but, in a flattering way, added, "I had more sense than to be a Quaker, for I had an ingenious countenance, and a mien importing a better education:" I rejected his flattery, and replied, that he might have had better education, and ought to have had more justice, than falsely to accuse one whom he never saw before; and put him upon his proof in that and several other things, in which he had overshot himself, in the apprehension of most of the people who heard him.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A PRIEST.

1704.

CREATION AND NATURE OF MAN.

I WENT, at the request of John Keeser (a young man who had not been long convinced), with him to the priest of that town (a most imbittered enemy to the way of Truth, and all that walk therein in this dispensation), who had desired to speak with him about his dissenting from him and the common Presbyterian way.

At our first entrance into the house, this priest looked very surly, haughty, and ill-natured, and, in an imperious gesture, bid us sit down, which we did; and John Keeser told him, "he had heard he desired to speak with him, and was now come to know the matter." Then he began and said, "John, I have had a mind to speak with you a long time, to know your reasons for neglecting the public worship, and deserting me who have charge over you, to follow the errors of the Quakers; who deny salvation by Jesus Christ, and follow their light within: But I could not meet with you, though I came to your house on purpose."

John Keeser replied, "I heard of it, and am now come to hear what thou hast to say." Then said the priest, "You are a perverse fellow; I wanted to speak with you alone, in order to reclaim you from the pernicious errors of the Quakers, who deny justification by Christ; affirming, that to expect to be justified by the works of Christ without us is a doctrine of devils."

Then said I, Friend, if thou hast anything to say to the

young man, relating to anything he hath done or said, I am here, at his request, to hear it; but if thou goest on thus to reflect against, and falsely accuse that people, I am one of them, and shall oppose thee, as I do return upon thee thy false accusations already uttered; in which thou hast shown thy great injustice, unworthiness, and ill-nature: For we do not expect salvation by any other than the Lord Jesus Christ and the Father; and I challenge thee to produce any author, approved by us, that denies the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, done without us, and its efficacy, for its proper end and purpose, in the redemption and salvation of mankind.

Then the priest's wife came into the room, with an air of rancor, and said, "Husband, do not talk with these men without witnesses; for, when they are gone, they will tell lies of you." Upon this I said to the priest, If thou hast any authority in this house, let us be rid of this din. And he desired her to withdraw; which she did: but we observed the effects of her resentment afterwards in the sequel.

Then the priest said, "William Penn, in one of his books, had called the doctrine of justification, by the coming of Christ without (in the flesh), the doctrine of devils." I asked him, if he had ever seen that book? and he confessed he had not. Then I asked him, how he could charge William Penn with such a position? He replied, "he had seen it quoted out of the book, by Mr. Bugg and Mr. Keith." Francis Bugg and George Keith, said I, once knew the Truth in some degree, and made profession of it with us; but took offences, first against some particular persons, and then against the whole body, and became apostates, open enemies, filled with envy implacable; and it is neither safe nor wise in thee to take anything upon trust from them against us, or any of us, they having been, and still are, notorious false accusers, perverters, and misrepresenters of us, our books, doctrines, and principles: But I know William Penn, and his sentiments on that subject, and have read the passage aimed at; which, to the best of my remembrance (not having the book here), is to this effect: "To teach that men are justified before God, by the righteous-

ness of Christ, as wholly without us, while sin is yet reigning in us, is a doctrine of devils."

This the priest did not deny, but asked me how we hold it? I said, I shall first premise some things by way of introduction, before I proceed to a direct answer to the question, intending thereby to make it more plain in the conclusion: I begin then with the purpose of God to make man, before he had any actual being as such, and according to what model, and find that it was a gradual work; that the matter of which the body of man was formed was pre-existing earth, and when he was perfected as natural man, he was a rational, intelligent animal in that state, carnally, or naturally minded, knowing only the things of nature, observed from without; into whom God breathed the breath of life from himself; whereby man became spiritually minded; alive in God, who is a Spirit; like unto God in his mind, or inner man; the image of him who created him in righteousness and true holiness: In which state God did not make any covenant with man, but (as a reasonable, intelligent creature, knowing God and acquainted with the intellectual voice and speech of his word) gave him a positive commandment, not of action, but abstinence, annexing death and disobedience together.

I consider then, 1st. What that breath of life was, which God so breathed into man.

2dly. What was this death in itself, so threatened in case of disobedience.

And, 3dly. How, and after what manner that death could, in any respect, justly affect the posterity of the first man.

And, I find, first (according to the testimony of Holy Writ), that this breath of life, as I understand it, was not the natural or animal life (for he had that before, by creation, as essential to him); but the breath of life from God was not essential to man, as such, nor constituent of his being, but was spiritual and divine, and breathed into the heart and mind of man, revealed, or manifested in him as a law and a light to his conduct in his duty toward God his Creator; according to the evangelist; where, writing on this subject, he saith, "In the

beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made, that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

Thus, in the beginning, before the fall of man, the life of the divine word was the light and guide of man.

2dly. As natural death is nothing in itself, but the cessation of the natural or animal life, the body being incapable of detaining it any longer, it becomes dead to all sense, and unactive, corrupteth after its kind, and returneth unto earth, of which it is a part; so the departure of the divine light and life of the divine word from the heart of man, leaves it in a state of death, and senseless with respect to the real knowledge of God and enjoyment of his divine presence and goodness: and then it corrupteth more and more unto perdition.

The cessation of life from the body is the effect of some distemper, or accident, incident to human kind in a state of nature, by the appointment of God; but the departure of the divine life and light from the mind of man, was, and is, the natural consequence of his departing from the faith, and of his disobedience; the word of God taking effect in man by his own act, and not by the act of God.

Man, in the beginning, by the voice of God, knew the command of God, and his duty to him thereby; and believed the word of God for a time, which is the divine, eternal, essential truth; and as long as man continued in the faith of the word, he lived in the divine life and light of it; stood and remained in the moral image of God, righteous, holy, uncorrupted, and undefiled.

But when the mind of man, through temptation, disbelieved the word of God, in which he at first believed, and adhered unto another voice, which was false and a lie, the mind of man thereby became corrupted, and incapacitated to detain and enjoy the life and light of the divine word any longer;

according to the word of God, which saith, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

And, 3dly. As to the effect which this offence had upon all the posterity of Adam, the first man; in general I observe further, that it may be considered after this manner: Adam being a rational animal in his first creation, production, and state, became a son of God by the in-breathing of the divine life (which was an act of God in which the man was passive) into his mind, by which he had lived in God in holy fellowship with him, and was his image; and by the light of which in-breathed spirit of life, the man was led and governed for a time, so long as he continued to believe therein; but, through unbelief, disobedience, and sin against the light of the divine word, the life thereof was quenched in him, as to himself, and departed from him; and then he became corrupted and defiled, and incapable, in that state, of that divine fellowship and enjoyment, and effaced that divine image in him; and so relapsed back into his rational animal condition; and then, in that state, and not in his best state, he begat Cain, his first-born, in his own fallen, relapsed, and animal likeness, being now only carnally minded, natural or animal; and not in the holy likeness, which he had and was in whilst he stood faithful, and remained in the likeness and image of God: For the divine nature, as such, contributes nothing to the production or multiplication of man, in his generation, as essential unto him, or constituent of his being; for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Thus, in the first Adam, all fell through unbelief, disobedience, and sin, and died.

Thus, the fall of man being his departure from the divine life and light of the eternal word of God, his wisdom and power, the redemption of man is his restoration (and more than restoration) to the knowledge of it, and being reunited with it.

And as the love, mercy, and compassion of God was still towards man, he gave him a promise by the same word, that "the seed of the woman (she having been instrumental in the

fall) should bruise the serpent's head," or that subtle spirit which had betrayed her; so that, in the fulness of time, the woman should be instrumental in the restoration; which accordingly is mercifully fulfilled: For, when the Angel of God was sent to Mary, the holy virgin, he said, "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

But Mary, reasoning as a woman, did not at first believe the angel, and said unto him, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" And the angel answered and said unto her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God." And Mary said, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word." And the angel departed from her.

Here it is observable, that so long as Mary followed the dictates of her own reason, from the common state of nature in the case, she withstood the messenger of God, and did not believe his message was possible; but when she heard it was to be brought to pass by the Holy Ghost, the power of the Highest, then she believed, and it came to pass accordingly. So that as sin, and all the deadly consequences of it, entered Eve through unbelief; even so, through faith, Mary conceived (as to the body of Christ) that holy seed; which being the wisdom and power of God, was to bruise the serpent's head, destroy his wisdom, subtilty, and falsehood, and overcome his power in the posterity of Adam; especially in all them who believe in the same word.

And the goodness and mercy of God appeareth still further in this, that, in the fulness of time, many ages after that first promise, the Lord added other promises to mankind, both Jews

and Gentiles, even unto all nations, the whole posterity of Adam; where, unto the Jew, he saith, "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." And unto both the Jew and Gentile he saith, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles." Again: "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles. To open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." Which was fulfilled unto the Jews, to whom alone he was sent, and appeared in the days of his flesh; where it is said, "The people who sat in darkness, saw great light; and to them who sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."

And, that it might be certainly known, in the fulness of time, unto all mankind, who this sacred person is, and what is the manner of his coming and appearance, both to Jew and Gentile, he was to be made manifest unto the Jews first, under the name and character of Jesus (a Saviour), and being anointed of God, with all the divine indwelling fulness, is thereby called Christ; and under both is called Jesus Christ, the Anointed Saviour, proposed as the object of faith, unto all nations: First, unto the Jews in the flesh as born of the Virgin; and, secondly, unto the Gentiles, as "the true light, who lighteth every man who cometh into the world." 1st, The testimony of good old Simeon concerning him, through the Holy Ghost, is, that he is "a light to lighten the Gentiles;" and, in that respect, their light and salvation, according to the promise of the covenant of God aforegoing.

2dly, The evidence of John; where he is full and express, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. And the Word

was made (or assumed) flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."

3dly, The witness of Christ himself, where he saith, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Again, Jesus said unto them, "Yet a little while is the light with you; walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light."

And, as the Father hath promised and offered his Son as he is that light, and as his new and everlasting covenant with mankind, in order to their restoration and establishment, not of works, but of life; so, whoever will enter into this covenant with God, must first believe in him whom God hath sent, and in the way and manner in which he hath sent him, according to his promises.

Now, a covenant is not on one side only, but on two at the least; and therefore God, who is divine eternal love, infinite in goodness and mercy, is pleased, of his own nature, and love to mankind, thus to send his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, into the world; who, by a voluntary death upon the tree of the cross, according to the fore-determined counsel and purpose of the Father, declared his mercy, and free pardon of the sins of the whole world, upon terms suiting the state, reason, and understanding of mankind: that is to say, upon faith in God the Father of all, and in Jesus Christ the Son of God (as I have already declared), and repentance from dead works, as the reasonable and necessary terms required of mankind, on our side or part of the covenant: that we may be restored to the knowledge of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, and made capable of being united unto God, through Christ, the Mediator between God and man, in this covenant, by and through whom we are brought into it, and stand therein steadfast and immovable for ever.

We must then receive the Saviour in the way in which he is sent and proposed unto us; not only as he is offered upon the cross, for the expiation of the sins that are past; but also as he is the divine light, enlightening our minds and understandings, as directed by Christ himself, where he saith, "while ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light;" that is, children of God, who is that light: So that as Adam fell from the true knowledge of God, and sense of his divine love, presence, goodness, and other attributes, through unbelief, we, his posterity after the flesh, may all arise and be restored by faith in Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, that quickening Spirit; not into the animal life, which by nature we already have, and in which we are averse to God and all his ways, but unto life eternal; that we may all know what that word meaneth, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." "And as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life."

Again, as to the plain indication and character which the Holy Scripture hath put upon this divine light, whereby we may know it, even as natural men, by its effects, the evangelist saith, that the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ, who is that light, "when he is come (or made manifest), he will reprove or convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." And, saith the apostle, "all things which are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light." Again: "This is the condemnation (of the world), that light (even this light) is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."

This is he, that divine eternal light, to whom John the Baptist and the apostles of Christ bore testimony; and in an especial manner the Apostle Paul, who was sent by Christ to the Gentiles, to open their eyes, and turn them from darkness to light (even unto himself, who is that light), and from the power of Satan unto God; that (being so turned) they might

receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them who are sanctified by faith in him, the Lord.

During all this time the priest gave me many rude interruptions, so that I perceived he was not worthy to know these things, neither could he, being deeply prepossessed against the truth, and the light of it; what I said, therefore, was principally for the sake of the young man with me, who had not been long convinced of truth, and to leave the priest without excuse: But I having mentioned this light according to the evangelist, as the true manifester of sin in mankind, he opposed that as a great error, and said, "That light which is in every man gives no knowledge of divine things, but only of natural, as to distinguish between one plant and another, and that five is more than three, and the like; and that there is no knowledge of sin, or of God, or of Christ, or of any divine things, but by the Bible."

I replied, The Bible itself saith otherwise, and that is, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." But read some verses of this first chapter of John the Evangelist, so as to put the Bible in the place of the Father and Son as thou dost, and see how it will read, thus, "In the beginning was the Bible. And the Bible was with God, and the Bible was God. The same (Bible) was in the beginning with God. All things were made by the Bible, and without the Bible was not anything made that was made. In the Bible was life, and the life of the Bible was the light of men. The Bible was the true light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. The Bible was in the world, and the world was made by the Bible, and the world knew not the Bible. And the Bible was made (or assumed) flesh, and dwelt among them, full of grace and truth. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by the Bible, according to thy doctrine. But, to return to the true doctrine in the Scripture, seeing that God is the word, and the word is God, and the same "is the true light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world," and assumed flesh; it followeth, that

God, who is omnipresent, is in all mankind ; and Christ, the light of the Father, as inseparable from him in that respect, is in all men.

About this time rushed in several of the priest's rude company ; who, we thought, had been sent for by his wife, in resentment of the affront given her, by being dismissed the room ; and at the sight of this company, the priest fell into a sudden transport of rage : and, starting up as red as fury, said, "That is blasphemy, O horrid blasphemy !" appealing, by his mock gestures of admiration, to his dark ignorant crew.

I being a little moved at this sudden charge before such witnesses, who might swear anything against me which their enraged teacher might dictate, I replied, What dost thou call blasphemy ? "What you said is blasphemy." What did I say ? "You said, that the light which is in all the heathens, is God."

I replied, I despise thy wicked attempt, and witnesses too, and retort thy false charge justly upon thy own head. Then I repeated some of my own words, That the word is God ; that the same lighteth every man that cometh into the world ; and that all heathens, being men, have in them the same light ; but though this light shineth in that darkness it is not comprehended thereby : And the saints and faithful in Christ had once been darkness, and yet became light in the Lord, and walked in that light as children of it, though some of them had been heathens before this light was revealed in them ; and they were called out of darkness into this marvellous light, and thereby became the light of the world. Now, thou denying this, must needs hold the contrary, that this light and word is not God ; which is directly against the Scripture, and plain blasphemy.

Upon this the priest grew a little more calm, and his company, seeming surprised stood silent, looking seriously upon him and me ; and then he replied, "That the light wherewith every man is enlightened is a creature, as much as a house or a tree is a creature :" and added (whether ignorantly or subtilly I shall not determine) "That the illumination wherewith every man is illuminated is a creature."

I replied, I am not speaking of the illumination, which is an act of the Illuminator, but of the Illuminator himself: for there is the Illuminator, who is God; and there is his light, wherewith he enlighteneth; and there is his illumination, which is his act of enlightening in man, who is a creature and is thereby enlightened. I do not say the act of God, in enlightening of man, is God, but that the light, which enlighteneth man, is God. Then he said again, "that the light which enlighteneth man, is a creature as much as a house or a tree." I replied, that he did not rightly distinguish; for though a tree be a creature of God as well as himself (and his doctrine was very wooden), yet a house, as such, is no creature, but an effect of human wisdom and art; and his distinction between God and his light was blind and heterodox: adding, that seeing God is light, and in him is no darkness at all, and he enlighteneth mankind by his own light, how dost thou distinguish between God, and the light of God?

Then he told me, "I had before asserted the light to be Christ, as the doctrine of the Quakers; and to call that light Christ, is to deny the true Christ." Then I repeated the words of the text, insisting, that I had all along spoke of God the Word, as that true light; that the same assumed the body of flesh, and was Christ, as plain and full as any man could speak from the text; and that light he had denied to be God or Christ; which is a denying of the true God, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is light.

Then I asked him, how the true Christ is constituted? He replied, "that the hypostatical union of the divine and human nature in one person, is Christ." Then said I; Lest we should misunderstand one another in the application of words variously, as is often the case, What dost thou mean by human nature? This put him a little upon a pause, and then he replied, "that by human nature he meant the body of Christ born of the Virgin Mary, conceived in her by the power and influence of the Holy Ghost." Then said I, if the substantial union of the divine word and the human body be Christ, I prove that since Christ once was, there was again

no Christ; for when Christ was upon the cross, and said to the thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," what was this "thou" in the thief, and this "me" in Christ that day in Paradise, since the body of Christ was laid in the sepulchre, where it remained until the third day, and the body of the thief was broken upon the cross, and disposed of after the manner of criminals? For if it be the substantial union of the divine and human nature (according to thy definition of human nature) which constitutes Christ, and that union dissolved by death, there was no Christ at all.

This made the priest blush, and grope in the dark for an answer; and at length he brought out this, "God occupied the place of the soul (though he had forgot the soul in his definition) during that separation, in whom the body and soul of Christ were in divine union, though otherwise separated, and were united in God's purpose though actually separated."

Christ's soul and body, said I, were in conjunction, in the purpose of God, long before he came in the flesh; and therefore by this answer of thine, time hath been since the incarnation of Christ, that he was no otherwise Christ than before his incarnation; and therefore it cannot be the actual conjunction that constitutes the true Christ, according to thy first assertion: and how is it possible there can be a divine union and a human separation in the same person, at the same time? Explain this mystery.

This dilemma put the priest to silence; and then I told him, that I did not want to know of him how the true Christ is constituted; nor was I about to affirm or deny anything in that question, having been long satisfied as to both the divine and human nature of Christ, and glorious hypostatical union of both, by the operation and demonstration of the Holy Spirit of Christ in my own person; but had put him upon answering these questions, that he might see the inconsistency and uncertainty of his own assertions; and the injustice in accusing us falsely, as deniers of the true Christ of God, only for rejecting the unlearned opinions of human-learned men; who know nothing of God or Christ, but by reading the Scriptures in

their own natural light (whereby they scarcely know one plant from another), and the unlearned opinions of other animal men concerning him.

The priest being thus brought under, his wife returned into the room; and some of the company, being angry, said, "It is in vain to talk with them, for they will never be convinced." I replied, Neither he nor you have anything to convince us with; and so we left them.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AN ANCIENT MAN.

1704.

ON WOMEN'S PREACHING.

THEN came in an ancient man, and asked me, "What Scriptures have you for women's preaching?" (some of our preachers of that sex being there). I asked him again, What is the reason of thy question? dost thou ask it as presuming there is no authority for women's preaching, or to be better informed about it? Upon this he was a little down; but, recovering his assurance, he said, "Paul permitted not a woman to speak in the Church."

I replied, that we ought not to interpret the apostle's words in that place so as to make him contradict them in another; for that would destroy his authority, and render his testimony null: But seeing he told the disciples in that day, how women, as well as men, ought to be qualified and circumstanced, and how to behave themselves in the time of their public exercises of preaching and praying in their congregations, he could not be against all women's preaching in the Church; but only against such who themselves wanted instruction: Besides, if women were not to appear so in the Church, the prophecy of Joel could not be true and fulfilled; which consequence all Christians ought to guard against, and be cautious how they oppose the ministry of women more than of men, being alike included in this prophecy. Upon this the man was silent and sat down.

But two of his sons being present, one of them asked me, "How do you know that it is not a spirit of delusion which

you are guided by, seeing God sends such a spirit upon men, as well as a good spirit?" I answered, that if he had known the Spirit of Truth, which leadeth into all Truth, he would have known him to be a most self-evidencing spirit; and when he appears in the heart and mind of man, cannot deny, but assent that he is Truth; and that the things which he manifests, and requires his servants to declare, are true; but that those who ask such questions knew him not, but were in darkness. Then I asked him, By what medium does thou discover the sun in the open heavens? His brother, perceiving the intent of my question, said, "Brother, you are gone;" but he made me no answer: Then I continued, and said, That as the body of the sun is not to be seen or known but by his own light, and fully seen by that, neither is the Spirit of Truth, which is divine, eternal, essential light, known or knowable but by himself; but it is self-evident unto every eye which he hath opened, though the children of the darkness of this world do not know him: He who believeth hath the witness in himself; and he who hath not the Spirit of Christ, who is that Truth, is none of his. But as to God's sending a false spirit to deceive men, I know what thou means, as all such ignorants do, that none can be certain by what spirit they are led, whether truth or error; which is the same as to say, that all mankind are in utter darkness and must ever so remain. Then I demanded his proof. He instanced in the false prophets mentioned in the first book of the Kings of Israel; where it is said, "Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him: And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth and do so. Now therefore behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee." "Here," said he, "is a plain instance where God sent a lying spirit into the mouths of all the king's prophets to delude and deceive him, and what

hath been may be: How then can you be certain whether you are deluded or not? Whether led by a right or wrong spirit?"

I answered, Ahab was a very wicked king, and did evil in the sight of the Lord, above all who went before him, and yet the Lord suffered him to reign in his course: And the king of Assyria making an unjust war against him and the people of Israel, and trusting in his great army and false gods, and despising the only true God; the Lord, for the illustration of his own power, the convincement of Ahab, and confirmation of Israel, that the Lord alone is God, and that the idols of the heathens were no gods, and could not save nor deliver their worshippers; for the confutation of the errors of the heathen king and his people; for the punishment of his luxury, treachery, ingratitude, and blasphemy of him and his people, and for the safety of the people of the Lord, and also for the punishment of Ahab for the neglect of his duty in his office, in not executing the will of the Lord upon Benhadad, a wicked, boasting blasphemer, the man the Lord had appointed to utter destruction for his pride, injustice, and wickedness. And Ahab killing Naboth, and continuing in idolatry, filled up the measure of his wickedness; and then the Lord, by the prophet Elijah, denounced his heavy and just judgments upon him. And that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled upon Ahab, who trusted in his four hundred lying state prophets, he suffered a lying spirit to deceive them all, and himself also, to his final destruction.

And as such false state prophets are always flatterers and deceivers of kings and great men of the earth, having their persons in seeming admiration, because of the interests, preferments, and advantages to themselves; so here we have a notorious instance of it, and in the behavior of Zedekiah, the most impudent and chief-like of all these impostors, to Micaiah the prophet of the Lord, smiting him on the cheek with a lie in his mouth, before two kings, without reproof from either of them, especially not from Ahab his own prince, which partial

indulgence and approbation is common with such rebellious persecutors, throughout all generations, to this day.

But this being a particular case, it no ways follows that God sends a false spirit to deceive such as sincerely seek unto him for help, direction, and counsel, in the way of life and salvation; but on the contrary, inviteth all mankind to look unto the Lord himself, as he is the only true God, for salvation.

Again, the Apostle Paul, speaking of the Gentiles, and the means which God had afforded them for the knowledge of himself, and by which also they had once known the Lord, hath declared, "That when they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, and they degenerated into miserable idolatry: Wherefore the Lord gave them up to their own lusts and vile affections; and even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient;" and then enumerates a large black catalogue of monstrous and mortal sins, as the consequences of their apostacy from God, and knowledge of the Lord, which once they had.

It was not, therefore, nor is it, by any act of God, or sending a spirit of delusion into mankind, or any of them, that they are deluded, deceived, or misguided; but it is the natural consequences and fruits of their own neglects, acts, and doings: For the Lord Jesus Christ gives encouragement unto all to come unto the Father for help; for after he had reasoned tenderly with his hearers after the manner of men, he draws this gracious conclusion, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him."

By all which duly considered, it appears, that the Lord doth not send a spirit of delusion upon mankind, or any of them, to deceive them, without a cause in themselves, especially those who believe in him, and seek unto him for the help and guidance of his Holy Spirit; but for the punishment of the wicked and ungodly, leaving them to themselves and their

own lusts for their punishment and destruction, when they have forsaken the Lord; and not that the Lord sends a lying spirit to deceive any before they have grievously offended him, as thou hast falsely suggested: but as for such as seek the Lord in sincerity and truth, desire after him and love him, he hears their prayers, and grants them the greatest of all blessings, the manifestation of his Holy Spirit, to lead and direct them out of all deluding, soul-killing evils and errors, into all righteousness, truth, and salvation.

But as it was of old, so it is now; there is a generation who, choosing their own ways, and refusing the way of the Lord, reject such as are sent of the Lord to instruct them, "and keep to themselves teachers after their own hearts' lusts, having itching ears;" not sent of God, but of men; not inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, but running in their own wills and time, are deceived, and deceive others through the lying spirit of this world; running for rewards; teaching, and that falsely, for hire; for the love of money to supply their bellies, and not for the love of souls and of Truth: Such know not the Truth, neither do their followers; and it is just with the Lord to suffer the same lying spirit, the god of this world, to blindfold them, that both the blind and the leaders of them may fall into the ditch of errors and confusion, as already they are at this day, refusing to be helped by the grace of God, come and offered unto them in and by Christ the powerful and peaceable Saviour.

And, finally, recommending this perverter to the consideration of what the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith, prove your own selves: Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" the whole matter ended; to the honor of Truth, and satisfaction of many present: and after refreshing ourselves at the inn, we went back that evening to Wiccopinsit.

CHAPTER XXX.

A BAPTIST TEACHER.

1704.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR.

ON the 9th we went into the island of Canonicut, and lodged at William Anthony's; but calling at Samuel Hicke's in our way, we were stayed there by a shower of rain, and, in the meantime, came in a Baptist teacher; who, inquiring after the news from the army gone into the east towards Canada, against the French, took occasion to tell us, with some ostentation, that he had two sons there; and, by degrees, we fell into conversation upon the subject of war: He pleaded the necessity of the temporal sword in general, and the continuance of it under the Gospel, as well as before, under the umbrage of the suppression of robbers, murderers, thieves, and other evil doers; and that when any one nation would unjustly invade another, and her rights, properties, and privileges, it is as murder, theft, rapine, piracy, and the like: so that since the magistrate (and the king as chief) beareth not the sword in vain, it is not wholly taken away by the Gospel, so long as magistracy, and the cause and use of it, remain.

To this I answered, that the sword there mentioned is not, as I apprehend, the sword of destruction, nation against nation, nor the necessity of the use of such a sword in the civil state, but rather the sword of civil justice, in execution of civil, temporal, and righteous laws; whereby the civil magistrate is, or ought to be, "a terror to the evil doer, and a safeguard and praise to them that do well."

He replied, "that if force by arms were not to be used, in

apprehending thieves, robbers, and the like, they would not submit to be apprehended and brought to justice, but go on by force to do those mischiefs."

To this I replied, That magistracy being God's ordinance, to that and other good, social, and salutary ends, the countenance of God is with the civil officer in his just prosecution and execution of his office; and the Almighty having power over all spirits, for the most part strikes a terror into evil doers, when they are only discovered and accused; so that it is very rare that any resist the powers by force, but by stealth only: However, force may be allowed in this case, in the hand of a proper officer, whose business and duty it is to apprehend and bring to justice furious and incorrigible transgressors of righteous laws and ordinances of men, for the just rule of countries and nations. But here I must distinguish between the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdoms of this world, in order to bring this matter to a right understanding and period. The Lord, by several of his prophets, hath foretold, "that he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This is to come to pass under the new covenant, of which Christ the Son of God is Mediator; whose doctrine tends to the fulfilling of it, in all who believe and obey the Gospel: For he saith, "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you; and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you;" and that we should not be angry without a cause, nor lust: and so preaching perfection, which being accomplished in the heart, by the holy and powerful Spirit of him who preached this doctrine, all lust is taken away and destroyed; whether it be the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, of vain glory, power, domination, self-exaltation, covetousness; the lust of envy, revenge, pre-eminence, and the like; which are the ground and cause of wars and fighting among

carnal men, as saith the Apostle James, "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from hence, even from your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not; ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not; ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts: ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?" Now, though the kings and kingdoms of this world may be at war, and do and will make war one against another for a time, until the kingdom of Christ shall prevail over all, yet the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, as he said unto Pilate, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence."

To this he answered, "That was only at that time that they would not fight; for if they had fought, he had not been delivered to the Jews to be crucified; and so his death, and all the advantages of it to mankind, hindered; but upon any other just occasion they might, and still may fight."

To this I replied, that this interpretation, or rather perversion, would destroy the kingdom of Christ in the nature, infancy, and end of it; denying Christ to have a kingdom on earth, but only during his bodily presence with his disciples, and would obstruct the way for the accomplishing the prophecies of the prophets beforementioned, and oppose the whole tenor and end of the Gospel: For the proclamation of the celestial harbingers of the Prince of Peace, in notifying the birth of the first-born into the world, for the salvation, not destruction of the lives of mankind, was after this manner, "Glory to God in the highest, and, on earth, peace, good will toward men." And as he was sent into the world in the love of the Father, so the whole tenor of his doctrine, and example of life, was for peace and love; and in that love, and the power and divine virtue of it, he yielded up his life and body on the cross, an adequate propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and to declare the mercy of God to all mankind. And

it is evident that the Jews crucified Christ, in defence and support of this same political principle and doctrine, of self-defence by war and fighting, for the preservation of their state against the Romans; though their policy proved their utter ruin in the sequel: for, said they, after Christ had raised Lazarus from the dead, "What do we? For this man doeth many miracles; if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation;" which plainly demonstrates, that the disciples and followers of Christ were not of fighting principles, but otherwise taught by him to love even their enemies, and his whole doctrine tended to mercy, peace, truth, and love. And the apostle saith concerning the members and subjects of the kingdom of Christ in this world, "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations (or reasonings), and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

Again; "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might: Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places: Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done (or overcome) all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth; and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints."

As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, he governs by his Holy Spirit, in and over such as are not of this world, but are given him out of the world; over whom, in all ages and succession of time, he hath ruled in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and shall yet reign, till by degrees, "the kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ:" and then shall be an end of all rule and dominion, but only of God, and the Lord Jesus; who shall be all in all among the children of men: But until this be finished by degrees, as it is now begun and proceeds, the kingdom of Christ on earth is, and shall be, as at the first, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, zealous, not to fight and destroy, or to meddle with the kingdoms or rule of the world, but of good works; against whom there is no law founded upon righteousness and truth: but, until this be accomplished, nation will lift up sword against nation, and they will learn and exercise war: but as to us, we, through the mercy and goodness of God, are of those in whom this prophecy is begun to be fulfilled, and we can learn war no more: For as a nation shall not be born in one day, so this prophecy shall not be fulfilled in one generation, but in several; but, being fulfilled, shall not fail any more for ever: But as for you, who are yet in wars and fightings, how are ye his subjects, or members of his holy nation, his royal priesthood, or peculiar people? Or how can you, until you obey his doctrine, to love God above all, to love one another in him, to love your enemies, do good unto them who hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use and persecute you?

And as to us who do not fight with carnal weapons, we meddle not with you who do, otherwise than to persuade you to leave that off, and be enlisted under the saving banner of the Prince of Peace; to believe in the divine light of the Son of God; to come out of the spirit of this world, in which is all trouble, into the spirit and kingdom of Christ, in whom there is perfect peace; which, if ye will not do, we must leave you to fight one with another, until you are weary, and have the recompense of it, one by another, in the natural consequences

of that destructive evil, with this caution of the apostle, nevertheless, that "if you bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye be destroyed one by another." And I desire you to leave us to the Lord, to serve him unto whom we belong, and fight in his name, under his banner, against the implacable and immortal enemy of our souls; against whom we find warring sufficient, and fighting enough daily, though we war not among you to destruction, nor one with another to the breach of peace.

By this time the spirit of my opponent was overcome, and he was much under for awhile; whereof being ashamed, and thinking to regain his honor by drawing me off this ground, into the water, thither he fled, and I followed him: for he began a discourse about water baptism, in which I found him pretty subtle, but not weighty. We went into the water and out of it; under the water and above it; through John's water baptism and antichristian rantism; through dipping to sprinkling; and from the whole to the one only permanent baptism of Christ by the Holy Ghost, into one holy body the Church; which is his body, the fulness of him; who filleth all in all: The particulars of which I omit here, having writ largely upon that subject on several occasions before; but closed this dispute on this manner: That since the Apostle Paul was the minister of the Gospel to the Gentiles, and completely furnished with every qualification necessary to a Gospel minister in so great an office, and yet had no commission to baptize with water, it is great vanity and presumption in any one in this age to pretend to it. This striking at the foundation of the image, he could not bear any longer; but, being then fair weather, hasted away, and we parted friendly; which I ever endeavor to do, after every contest for the faith and doctrine of Christ, with all men; my chief aim being to convince and open the understandings of opposers, and the auditors, and not only conquest: this than that, being a much more noble and Christian end.

CHAPTER XXXI.

JOHN HALL.

1705.

THE BAPTISMAL VOW.

ON the 17th we set forward from thence, and arrived at William Pecket's in the afternoon; who, though not under the profession of truth, yet was zealous for it: He received us kindly, and, after some discourse with him about a meeting to be next day at his house, he was very willing we should, and sent his servants several ways to give notice in the country: and in the mean time he told me of some discourses which had happened among the people in those parts since I had been there before: for in a great meeting on that side the bay, I had, in a particular manner, reminded the members of the National Church of England, there present (sincerely wishing the eternal salvation of all who bear that name), of what they call their baptismal vow and promise, made in so solemn a manner before God and man, when they are sprinkled; which they think is their baptism: For then they promise and vow three great things, by themselves or sureties: 1st. To renounce the Devil and all his works, the pomps and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh; 2dly. To believe all the articles of the Christian faith; and 3dly. To keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of their lives; and this they are taught by their priests to believe is their duty; and as, by their public confession, they had broken all those promises and vows; and, from being made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, in their baptism, have so far renounced it, and are so far fallen and degenerated from that state, as to

have erred and strayed from the ways of the Lord like lost sheep; followed too much the devices and desires of their own hearts; offended against the holy laws of God; left undone those things which they ought to have done; and done those things which they ought not to have done; so that there is no health in them, but are miserable sinners; and so, from time to time, year to year, to the end of their days, still go on in the same way, and yet call Christ the Son of God, their Lord and Saviour, and God their Father; though they live and die in their sins, and are not saved from them, if this confession be true: And therefore it must justly be charged upon them by the Almighty Creator and Judge of the world, as perjury in his sight; and for that cause, and in zeal for their salvation, and, if possible, to awaken them from this deep sleep of sin, I had cried aloud in that meeting, O sinful nation! O perjured people! how greatly dost thou provoke the Most High, by so great apostacy and departure from the living God! How canst thou answer the Lord in that day which is hastening upon thee as the wings of a glorious morning? Exhorting them to repent, amend, return to the Lord and perform their vows, with all diligence and sincerity, that so their great sins might be pardoned, blotted out, and remembered no more. And William Pecket informed me, that John Hall, a man of eminence in that country, and a member of the National Church at that time, and some others, had been at that meeting, and offended with what I had said; and that he had invited him to this meeting, which was held at William Pecket's, on the 18th day of this second month, according to appointment; where all were still and attentive, and we were favored with divine goodness.

After this meeting I inquired of John Hall, what it was he and some others had taken offence at in that meeting some time before? And it was chiefly what is before related; and that they thought I had said, "If a man was once in a good state, it was impossible to fall from it." As to the first I had said no more in effect than William Perkins, a learned minister of the Church of England, had written (William Pecket happening to have the book by him) in his Exposition of Christ's

Sermon upon the Mount, page 151, which appears in these words: "Having showed what perjury is, with the kinds thereof, let us see whether we be free from it: After examination it will appear that men's lives are full of perjury, for where there is much swearing usually, there cannot but be much perjury; because they who swear in their common talk do forget their oaths, as they do their communication: But, say we are clear from perjury, yet are we in danger of God's heavy judgments, for the breach of our vow in baptism; wherein we promise to believe in God, to serve him, forsaking the world, the flesh, and the Devil: Now, the breach of this vow is as ill as perjury; for therefore may baptism be called a sacrament, because of the oath and vow which a Christian maketh to God therein: For the word sacrament properly betokeneth the oath which a soldier maketh to his captain for his fidelity. The breaking of Joshua's oath unto the Gibeonites, by Saul, caused three years' dearth, and was not satisfied but with the blood of seven of Saul's kindred: And Zedekiah's perjury to the king of Babel, was one cause of the Lord's fierce wrath against Jerusalem and the princes thereof. Now, shall one man's perjury cause such judgments, and shall we not think that, among other sins, this our perjury unto God, in breaking our vow in baptism, bringeth upon us God's heavy wrath, by plague, famine, and unseasonable weather? Wherefore, let the consideration hereof persuade us to temperance, and a more conscionable care of performing our vow unto God."

Thus this learned and religious author of the Church of England makes the breach of their baptismal vow plain perjury, or full as bad, incurring the wrath and judgments of God; and if so then, O perjured England! in saying whereof, you may see I said nothing in that meeting, on that head, but what a famous minister of your own Church had said and written long before; and you are not yet reformed, but still remain the same, or like miserable sinners.

And as to your alleging I said, "If a man was once in a good state it was impossible to fall from it," I did not say so; for that would have contradicted what went before;

and I have ever been of another judgment: And besides, that would have been contrary to the known testimony of the Scriptures; for Adam and Eve were once in a good state, yet fell from it; And the author to the Hebrews teacheth, that "it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame." And again; "For if ye sin wilfully, after that ye have received the knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries:" So that you have all mistaken what I delivered in that meeting, and have not done well to lie under it so long, but should have told me of it then. They owned that, and I added:

1st. That if mankind in their infancy were members of Christ, they were without sin, for "he is holy and separated from sinners," and is not head of a sinful, unclean body, but of a pure, holy body, the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him, who filleth all in all.

2dly. He who is a child of God, is born of God; and "he who is born of God sinneth not, nor can do; for the seed of God remaineth in him and he cannot sin."

3dly. He who renounceth the Devil and all his works, at the eighth day of his age, or sooner, according to your canon, renounces all sin; for all sin is of the Devil. And if he forsakes all sin at that age, he never sins at all, if this be true.

4thly. He who keeps God's holy will and law and commandments, and walketh in the same all the days of his life, never sinneth: and if all this be done, it is perfection indeed.

5thly. He who believeth all the articles of the Christian faith, cannot err in faith; but seeing faith is not man's acquisition, but the gift of God, no man can procure it for himself, much less can he procure, or safely engage it for another.

But if it were true, that all this were had upon your baptism, as ye call it, in your infancy, then see what miserable and dreadful state ye are fallen into; for after all this, even in your old age, instead of renouncing the Devil and all his works, you have erred from the way of God like lost sheep; and it is the spirit of error, not of Christ, which leads mankind astray from God; for the Spirit of Christ leadeth into all Truth.

6thly. You have offended against the holy laws of God, you say; and such offences are not of Christ, but of Antichrist: You have left undone those things which you ought to have done, and done those things which you ought not to have done; and, from members of Christ and children of God, you are become miserable sinners: so if that be true which you pretend to in your baptism, how great is your fall! for he who is an inheritor, is in possession of the inheritance, and enjoyeth it, as he who is only an heir, waiteth in expectancy, until the time of inheriting shall come: If then ye had been inheritors (that is, possessors) of the kingdom of heaven in your infancy, with Christ and his holy angels, ye must now needs be fallen from heaven, and from Christ, and the company of the holy angels of God, with the apostate angels, and in communion with them, by your own assertions. How then shall you be restored? being as the withered branches, out of your own mouths condemned, cut off from the body of Christ, from being members of him: For the members of Christ, while such, are not miserable sinners, but are redeemed from all iniquity, by the life of Christ, and purified as a peculiar people unto God, zealous of good works, and not devoid of saving health; but healed by him, who is the health of all nations, to be testified in due time? But the doctrine ye are taught cannot be true; ye are not regenerated nor born again in your rantism, as you ignorantly and miserably imagine; your dark and blind leaders have caused you thus to err, and lead you thus astray; for if you had then been born again, of the incorruptible seed of the word of God, so many gross sins would not now be reigning in you, as now appear; since he that is born of God, sinneth not.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AN OPPOSER.

1705.

FREEDOM FROM SIN.

AND the friend having finished, I concluded the meeting in prayer. Then this opposer stood up again, and, directing to me, said, "Sir, I have heard you with much attention, and you have delivered many very good things : Do you mean by freedom from sin in this life, such a freedom, as that a man never sins after he hath embraced the Christian religion?"

I answered, No; for as all are liable to be tempted after they have believed in Christ, and known something of the work of conversion, a man may sin, if he adheres to the temptation of the adversary; but if he continueth to follow the Spirit of Truth, which leadeth into all Truth, he sinneth not after he is converted; but through the grace of God, come by Christ the Lord, may live a holy, righteous, innocent, and sinless life, to the end of his days in this world.

"I ask you then," said he, "did ever the Apostle Paul sin after he was a minister, and converted?"

I answered, That is not a proper question to ask me concerning a person so eminent, departed this life so many hundred years ago, and to whose secret failings, if any he had, I was never privy; but if I may judge of him by his doctrine, as I think I ought, and that he was one in conversation and attainment with what he preached unto others, I may justly conclude he lived free from sin, from the time of his conversion to his dying day.

He replied, and said, "I prove out of the word of God (pulling out a Bible), and from the apostle's own words, that

he was a sinner after he was an apostle." Then said I, Who art thou? Of what communion professing the Christian religion? For I perceived by his accent he was a Frenchman by nation. He replied, "I am in communion with the Church of England, and am a minister of that Church." Dost thou, then, said I, here in this auditory, many of whom are of the same communion with thyself, charge the apostles of Christ with sin? "Yea," said he, "the apostles were sinners after they were converted, and at the same time when they were ministers of Christ, as I shall prove by the seventh chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the first chapter of the First Epistle of John." Then he read, "For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin: For that which I do, I allow not; for that I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." Again, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

I answered, It is not to be admired that the people are so ignorant, who have such blind guides: But the saying of Christ is now again fulfilled in this generation, as it was among the Jews who crucified him; "If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall in the ditch." I have told the auditory already, in the testimony I have borne among you, that the apostle, in that Epistle to the Romans, was not speaking of the state which himself or any of the apostles were in at that time when he was writing it; but personating and representing the state of the Jews under the law, and of mankind in general under the fall of the first Adam (in whom all mankind were virtually included at the time of his transgression), before they came to the belief and knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Adam, and Saviour of all: For in that Epistle the apostle proves, that both Jews and Gentiles were under sin; the Gentiles by breaking the law writ in their hearts, and the Jews by transgressing the law of God by Moses: So that the transgressing Jews and Gentiles were all alike sinners in the sight of God, the Creator and Judge of the world: and more especially the Jews, as having had the knowledge of the law of God, both inwardly and outwardly, and had transgressed

both dispensations, by which their sins were aggravated ; so that every mouth is stopped, and all the world become guilty before God : for God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. Again ; the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them who believe.

But are mankind still to remain in their sins to the end of their days, and inherit the kingdom of God at last ? No, surely ; for if we live and “ die in our sins, whither Christ is gone we cannot come : ” But though all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, yet being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is by Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God : And this redemption is not, by any means, consistent with sin, but contrary to it ; for Christ came not to save us in our sins, but from them ; and sin being the cause both of defilement and condemnation, until that is taken away there can be no redemption or salvation.

For it was not the hearers of the law only who were just before God ; but the doers of the law should be justified ; and by their fruits men are to be known : And saith Christ the Lord, “ Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who doth the will of my Father who is in heaven. ” The workers of iniquity, though they have prophesied in his name and cast out devils, and done many wonderful works, will be disowned at last, and commanded to depart : And it is the hearer and doer of the sayings of Christ who shall stand upon the rock, when the time of trial shall come ; and every one who heareth the sayings of Christ, and doth them not, is on the sandy foundation, and all his building shall fall, and be destroyed with great destruction in the end.

And the advice and doctrine of the Apostle James, is, that we be “ doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving our own selves : ” and “ faith without works is dead. ” And the Son

of God hath said (speaking of the law and of the prophets), "whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do, and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." And he closeth that chapter of his excellent and most moral doctrine, with this preceptory exhortation, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven, is perfect." Such therefore who are perfected, through the eternal Word who preached this doctrine, shall be settled and established in him, and with him, for ever in heaven; when such as assume to teach others, and act contrary to the doctrines they preach, or teach mankind to sin against God, and break the least of his commandments, either by doctrine, disputation, or evil example, shall be condemned and excluded.

This enraged the priest to a great degree; and then he repeated his charge against the Apostle Paul with vehemence, saying, "He speaks in the present tense. I am, I do, I do not: I am carnal, sold under sin; for that which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not: but what I hate, that do I; and so on to the end of that chapter: so that it is clear that the apostle was in sin at that time. So then, saith he, with the mind, I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh, the law of sin."

To this I answered, that though the apostle, according to the Holy Scriptures, convinceth all men of sin; yet in great part of that epistle he preacheth perfect and absolute freedom from sin, through Christ; even in this present world: for in the beginning of the sixth chapter of that epistle, he saith, "Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" And then, alluding to the death and resurrection of Christ, which was absolute and perfect, he draws this comparison, "That like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life, knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that hence-

forth we should not serve sin. For he who is dead is freed from sin." And still prosecuting the same doctrine throughout all that chapter, he adds, For in that he (Christ) died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise, reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Again; when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness; but now, being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." In all which he speaks in the present and preterperfect tense, as of a state already attained by many of the disciples of Christ, through faith in his holy and powerful name.

And the apostle, still proceeding in the same doctrine, in the beginning of the seventh chapter (but under another similitude, alluding to marriage), saith, "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married unto another, even unto him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God: For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death: But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." And in the next chapter, he further explains this, where he saith, "The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be: So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God; but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

The apostle having clearly finished the glorious and most comfortable doctrine of present redemption from sin, he resumes in the seventh chapter, to speak of the state of the Jews (as hath been said), under the law only, and not of the condition, either of himself, or of any other under the Gospel: In the first place, in the latter end of the seventh chapter, he gives thanks unto God for his deliverance from the

wretched state of sin, and body of death, through Jesus Christ our Lord : And, secondly, confirms his doctrine in the eighth chapter, saying, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit : For the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death ; for what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, and by a sacrifice for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit : for to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace." Now, whosoever contradicteth himself in testimony, destroyeth his own credit, and renders his evidence void : If therefore the apostle should, in the seventh chapter, contradict the doctrine he preaches in the sixth and in the eighth, he would have rendered his doctrine null, to all men of understanding, distinguishing things that differ. And to be sold under sin, and under captivity to the law of it, and to be free from the law of sin, at the same time, is a contradiction in matter and terms ; and ought not to be admitted, in favor of sin, by any Christian, against so great an apostle and minister of the Lord Jesus : But such impostors and deceivers as plead, wrangle, and dispute, and contend for sin term of life, and salvation in the end, cannot themselves be innocent ; but even therein sin against God ; and, as far as they can, propagate and advance the kingdom of Satan, in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, in mankind, to the end of the world, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God ; and wrest some places of this seventh chapter to the Romans, and other Scriptures, not only to their own destruction, but of those also who, through the lust of the flesh, eyes, and pride of life, believe and follow them as in this instance now present : For the apostle, in this chapter, is not preaching up the power of sin, which hath no power in itself without the law, but the weakness of the law against sin, which it only discovers, but cannot destroy.

The priest was again in a rage, therein repeating his charge

against the Apostle John, where he saith, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us;" but did not offer any comment, or argument upon this text, as supposing it sufficiently cogent of itself to prove his charge; which he again and again insisted upon and repeated.

Then I replied, thou hast already brought thy charge, and we all understand it without repetition, it is to maintain "sin term of life," by a misapplied text of the first Epistle of the Apostle John; and that no man ought to pretend to obtain freedom from sin while in this world: And thou hast brought in the Apostles of Christ (the best and most perfect of men), not only guilty of sin, but living in it, and preaching it; that thereby thou mayest fortify and establish thyself in thy own sins, against the plainest convictions of Truth in full and plain contradiction to thy false charges. But let this apostle be heard for himself and Truth.

Then I observed to the auditory, that this apostle, in his General Epistle, begins first with the testimony which himself and the rest of the apostles had borne of God to the people, when first sent unto them, that is, to the word of life, which is Christ in Spirit, and to God, "that he is light, and in him is no darkness at all:" and then, secondly, he proceeds to set forth the sinful and ignorant state mankind were in when the apostles were first sent unto them, as in this doctrine, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" which is explained in the tenth verse thus, "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." That is, as we are men under the fall, in the first Adam, before we know Christ the second Adam, and redemption from sin by him; if in that state we say we have no sin, or have not sinned, we deceive ourselves, and lie against the truth, and give God the lie too, who hath declared, he hath sent his Son to redeem and save us from our sins, if we had not sinned at all: But the apostle proceedeth, and saith, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And, to set forth the liberty of the sons of God, and freedom from all

sin and evil, both in this world, and in that which is to come, the apostle further adds in the sequel of this Epistle, saying, "He that saith he abideth in him (Christ) ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked :'' and wilt thou say that Christ walked in any sin ?

Again, "I have written unto you, fathers ; because ye have known him that is from the beginning : I have written unto you, young men ; because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." Fathers in Christ are not in sin, as such ; for the keeping the commandments of God is their evidence and assurance that they know him : neither are young men in him overcome of sin, when they have overcome the wicked one, the author of it, through the divine power of the word of life, which abideth in them : "Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father." And as there is no sin in the Son, nor have sinners, while such, any communication with them ; for he is separated from sinners ; so the Father is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, with approbation : And if ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one who doeth righteousness is borne of him. And "every man that hath this hope in him (to see God as he is), purifieth himself even as he is pure ;" and thou wilt not venture to say that God is not perfect in purity : And "be ye holy for I am holy, saith the Lord ;" and they could not be holy and sinners at the same time ; for these two states are full opposite one to another. And the apostle carries this doctrine, of freedom from sin in this life, yet further, and saith, "Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not : whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. He that committeth sin is of the devil ; for the devil sinneth from the beginning : for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin ; for his seed remaineth in him ; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Thou therefore who art pleading and wrangling

for "sin term of life," which is the work and kingdom of Satan, art therefore bewraying and proclaiming thy own benighted state, that thou hast not abode in Christ, if ever thou hast, in any degree, known him; and that though he is the true light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world, and the new and everlasting covenant of God, thou hast neither seen him nor known him: thou mayest see by this doctrine of the apostle which thou art opposing, whose son thou art: and that the Son of God is not manifest in thee, so as to destroy the work of the devil, which thou art supporting with all the might and subtilty he hath given thee, and that thou art not a child of God, but overcome of the world, and of the evil one who rules therein.

The priest, being very angry and impatient to see the apostle justified by his own doctrine from those false imputations, vehemently repeated his charge, "that the apostles had sin at the same time when they were ministers of Christ, and preaching salvation to the rest of mankind by him:" "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," &c. Here he plainly includes himself, and the rest of the apostles and primitives, in the present tense.

I replied, that the apostle likewise speaks in the present tense and preterperfect tense, in handling that doctrine; "Every one who doth righteousness, is born of him. Every man who hath this hope, purifieth himself:" and so of the rest of the text I have mentioned before, and many others in the same Epistle, of like import: And the apostle, being led into those truths of the Gospel, could not contradict one part of his Epistle by another; only thou dost not understand him, nor mind the context. And besides, as the apostles had been born after the flesh, and been sinners as well as others; and by nature children of wrath; and in that state not children of God more than others, they sometimes condescended in the manner of their expression, to the states and weakness of the people; as for instance, the Apostle Paul saith, he "that became all things to all men, that he might by all means save some; unto the Jews, he became as a Jew; to them who were under

the law, as under the law," as before in his Epistle to the Romans; "to them who were without law (in a religious sense) as without law:" to the weak he became as weak, that he might gain them also. Timothy was circumcised under that consideration; and he baptized several with water, though no part of his mission, and preached the law of life and salvation unto the Gentiles; who at that time, were not under the power of the law of God, but without God in the world, and subject to wild and unreasonable idolatry: And yet the apostle did not condescend so far as to sin, in any degree, with sinners; for that would have brought him under condemnation, and rendered his testimony of none effect, and would not have tended to the salvation of his hearers, but to their destruction; as doth thy false doctrine to such as hear, believe, and follow thee.

Again, the Apostle James condescendeth to the weak, in the like manner of expression, where he saith, "The tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison: therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, who are made after the similitude of God: out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be: Doth a fountain send forth, at the same place, sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine, figs? So can no fountain yield both salt water and fresh." Here this apostle likewise, as the Apostle Paul, speaks in the first person, and time present, and who, unless thyself, in favor of sin, will say, that the apostle was at that time, if at all in any time of his life, a curser of men? And so far was he from indulging mankind in sin, that he teacheth, "that if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors: For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."

Then, in his usual passion, he moved another charge against us, "that we never pray for forgiveness of sins; and consequently we never confess we have been sinners."

I answered, It is not to be admired that thou chargest us

falsely, seeing thou hast made so bold with the apostles of Christ and primitives; for though we do not think it our duty to confess our sins to any priest of any kind or order, who might be as sinful, or more so than ourselves, yet we confess them unto God; who knows us as we are, with all our infirmities; and who, we know, by happy experience, is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all sin; which no priest, but the High Priest and Bishop of souls, is able to do; and who, through infinite mercy and goodness, hath freely done so to many penitent and humble ones in this age, as well as in times past, to his own glory. And I proved him false in this also, appealing to the people present, whether, even in that meeting, I had not, in prayer, given thanks unto God, in behalf of our community, for his gracious pardon through Christ, of our many sins and failings; and for his great love also since; and for the flowings of it in the hearts of the sincere among us, even at that time. But since we were favored with the evidence of the Spirit of the Son of God, that the Father, through him, had pardoned all our sins past, there was no need, nor was it proper, to pray for what, through grace, we had already obtained; and yet I had prayed then also, that if the Lord (who seeth in secret) saw any sin or evil lurking in any of us, that it might please him to discover it unto us, and do it away. And thus his false charge in that point also, was turned upon him. And then I repeated his charge against the Apostle Paul, and his reason for it, viz., Because he spake in the present tense, and read the 2d verse of the 8th chapter to the Romans, where he saith, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death;" which is not the law of Moses, the mediator of the first covenant, which was of works, but of eternal life, freely given us of God the Father, through Christ our Lord, who is the only Mediator of this covenant. And here the apostle, speaking in the preterperfect tense, as of a thing already accomplished, it was once more fully conclusive against him: since it is impossible that the apostles could be in these two quite repugnant states, at one and the same time,

when writing those two parts of that epistle, so near as a very few verses, or lines, one to another.

To this he gave no answer, but vehemently repeated the same verse as before, out of the 1st chapter of the First Epistle to John, and the 8th verse, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Then I read the 10th verse of the same chapter, as it is thus, "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." Then he cried out, "You falsify the Scripture in reading it; for he doth not say, 'If we have not sinned we make him a liar, and his word is not in us,' but if we say we have no sin," &c. I say I do read right, and read the 10th verse, which went before in the 8th; and then I read it again. Then said he, "You do not read right." And I read it again. And yet he had the assurance to charge me again with false lection, to impose thereby upon the people. Then said I, Read it thyself; here, take thy own Bible (for I had it in my hand, and had read in it), lest thou shouldst pretend, that when I read it in another, that it was a Quaker's Bible, and corrupted to our own sentiments (as some have falsely accused us); and then I will read it again, and thou shalt compare thine with the other, whether they be the same; and so read the verse in the other as before, "If we say we have not sinned," &c. When he saw this he pretended he meant the 8th verse. I answered. How could that be? for I read that at first, and told thee this was subsequent, to explain and give the full sense of the former. And so I went on to clear the apostle's doctrine fully, according to the true intent of it as above; and chiefly by the 4th and 6th verses of the 2d chapter, and the 13th and 14th of the same; and chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Then this priest (being the most perverse and wilful obstinate person I had ever met with) raged again like a madman, interrupting me often, as he had done all along; upon which, with a suitable asperity, I rebuked him, saying, Thou advocate of Satan, and for his kingdom, thou minister of sin, be silent, and hear a full answer, once more, and refutation of thy false

charges against the apostles of Christ, and their divine soul-saving doctrine. But he, forgetting both his former charge and my answers, as deaf to all Truth, ran raving on with further charges and pleas for sin: Then I repeated a text out of the 6th chapter to the Romans; viz., "When ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness; but being made free from sin, and become the servants of God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end is everlasting life." Again, "He that commits sin, is the servant of sin."

Then, in another raging fit (for Satan is always angry when his kingdom is opposed), he said, "that a man may commit sin and not be a servant of sin, for a servant cannot properly be called a servant unless he obey in all things." Answer: According to this, thou may commit murder to-day, fornication to-morrow, and theft next day, and yet not be a servant of sin. "No," said he, "if a man commit sin once a month or six weeks, he may yet not be a servant of sin. And again, that a man may live in sin twenty years together, and yet not be a servant of sin."

After three times repeating this, I desired it under his hand; which he offered to have done, but was hindered by some of his own party, who, I suppose, were ashamed of this monster. I then repeated two texts of Scripture; one being the words of Christ, and the other of the Apostle Paul: "He that commits sin, is the servant of sin; and his servants ye are, to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, whether of sin unto death, or of righteousness unto life eternal." And here both Christ and the apostle speak of all sin, indefinitely, as well the lesser as greater evils, without any reference to time or frequency, or distinction, or kinds, or number of sins.

Then his own party seeing him in confusion, and asserting such horrid impieties, urged him to depart; which he did accordingly, with some mumbling invectives against me, and shaking his head and fist, in reply to something I had said in the meeting against consubstantiation, as being as unintelligible and heterodox as transubstantiation: by which I conjectured he was a Lutheran priest; and so he departed in a fume.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A FRENCH PRIEST.

1705.

PERFECTION IN THIS LIFE.

THEN one came and told me the French priest was going from thence; so that if I had anything to say to him, must do it quickly: Whereupon I went from the table, and found him with some people about him, and spake to him, in their hearing, concerning our meeting upon his challenge. This put him into a fresh rage; but would not hear of any further dispute: pretending he had appointed that day for it, and I did not go; and therefore he was at liberty. I replied, Neither did thou go there; and thou ought not to decline meeting me, since, upon thy own challenge, I came back from beyond James River, with some difficulty, charge, and hazard, on purpose, and am ready to meet thee at thy own place to-morrow. But he utterly refused it, in ill language; and yet, by degrees, we came upon the same points of sinless perfection in this life, or sin to the end, and further debated it; in which I had occasion to repeat that Scripture, where it is said, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God."

To this he answered, "that the same apostle distinguisheth upon the word sin, where he saith, 'If a man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it. All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death.'

Now," said he, "this sin, which is here said to be a sin unto death, is not intended as to every sin, or of any other but the sin against the Holy Ghost; which is never to be forgiven, neither in this world nor in that which is to come."

I replied, that the apostle could not mean the sin against the Holy Ghost only; for in the same place he saith, "All unrighteousness is sin (indefinitely), and we know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God, keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." He therefore who so keepeth himself, that the wicked one toucheth him not, neither sinneth against the Holy Ghost, nor any other sin; for such can say in truth, "as he is, so are we in this world." But for the better understanding of this point, let it be considered what Christ himself saith concerning sin in general, and of the sin against the Holy Ghost in particular: The law of Moses did not impute sin unto any, where no act of sin was committed, or known duty omitted; but the morality of the Gospel, by the Lord Jesus Christ, being more divine, excellent, and perfect than that of the law, chargeth the desire and will with sin, where there is no actual or legal transgression: For instance, Christ said to his disciples, Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

Now, here is sin charged upon the lust, or desire of evil, arising from the root of evil in the heart, where the will is subjected thereto by that desire, though the act be not committed; yet such desire and will, though sinful in the sight of God, who is perfect in holiness, it is not mortal or deadly, till acted: For the Apostle James, by his doctrine, explains this, where he saith, "When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." Here under the word lust is comprehended every sinful

desire incident unto human kind, whereby we sin or can sin against God; the conception and purpose whereof in the heart is sin, and defileth, but, until finished by words or actions, is not so mortal as to separate the soul for ever from the life of God; whether it may be murder, adultery, covetousness, which is idolatry, or any other mortal sin. And "whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point (even so much as to respect persons in matters of religion), he is guilty of all:" But though he who thus sinneth against God, brings death over his soul as a necessary consequence of it, and lays himself liable to eternal judgment and punishment; yet these are not sins against the Holy Ghost, as Christ defines it: For "all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." By which it is evident, that the sin against the Holy Ghost is committed by the tongue, and consists in attributing the wonderful works of God, by his holy Spirit, especially in the redemption of mankind, unto that evil one, the Devil, or unto any other power, than the wisdom and power of the Almighty only: But if the children of God, who are born of his divine and eternal word, may, as such, sin any sin, except the sin against the Holy Ghost (as is the plain sense of thy, and your doctrine and reasoning), then they might be guilty of any, or all other sins, and still be children of God, in an evangelical sense, innocent and undefiled; which is a contradiction, inconsistency, and impossibility, and in the nature of it, blasphemous.

This priest, being exceeding loth to yield up this beloved doctrine of "sin term of life, and the kingdom of heaven at last," struggled yet a little further: and upon my saying, that no man can serve two masters, nor God and sin, at the same time; he replied, as in our former dispute, "That a man is

never properly a servant, unless he obey his master in all things : so a man cannot be a servant of sin, unless he obeys it in all things."

Then I urged, that if none can be the servants of sin unless he obey in all things, so by a parity of reason one may say, none can be the servant of God, unless he obey in all things : And then none of you priests, who plead for "sin term of life," pretending to serve God and sin at the same time, can be servants of God, or ministers of Christ ; since ye do not, by thy own confession, obey him in all things, if in any one thing.

So many of the people as were present, being generally very quiet during the time, and for anything that appeared to the contrary, were satisfied, and it growing late, we at last parted friendly, my adversary taking me by the hand, called me brother, and said, "All the hurt I wish you, light upon my wife and children ; and so farewell."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE FRENCH PRIEST AGAIN.

1705.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

ON the 10th we returned over the river to Major Thomas Jordan's to dispute the French priest (for he had there appointed it); where many people were assembled on that occasion. The time appointed was nine in the morning, and he came not till twelve; so that many of his party seemed to doubt his coming, and were troubled; they having great dependence upon him as their only remaining champion in those parts. But, at length, he came; and the first salutation I gave him was a gentle reproof for delaying so long after the time appointed by himself, which he endeavored to excuse; though the real meaning of it was taken to be, to shorten the time, so that night at least might end the controversy, into which he had been so unwillingly brought.

A long table being placed in the middle of Major Jordan's hall, and one of us on each side, we were quickly surrounded by a crowding multitude; and being very hot weather, we were ready to be stifled: But though I had at that time a great pain in my right side and breast, so that I could not well draw breath, but with sharp stitches the day before, and that morning; yet the Lord gave me ease, at that time, and strength to my own desire.

My antagonist, being very volatile, made his assault instantly, without a word of any preliminaries, or state of any question, and thus attacked me: "Why do not you, the people called Quakers, use the Lord's prayer in your assemblies? I prove that Christ taught his disciples this prayer (offering to read

it), and commanded them to pray so; and I also prove, that they who do not use it are no Christians: but you never use it; because if you did, you must then pray for forgiveness of your sins, which your own supposed righteousness will not allow: You are therefore none of his disciples: you are no Christians."

Upon this I gave the auditory a short relation of the occasion and circumstances of that engagement, and of the first meeting he opposed me in, and of the proceedings since to that time, to the end they might know the true state of the matter; and that the magistracy (many of them being present) might be satisfied, whatever might be the issue, that not I, but my opponent, was the first mover and contriver of it. That so no blame might appear on my part on that account: and that I might check and avoid the liberty he assumed, to impose questions at his pleasure, without my assent to a regular stating of them, so as to relate to the known principles and practice on each side. This displeased my adversary for two reasons: 1st, In that he imagined I had intended to renew the whole matters and question concerning freedom from sin, in which he had been so fully worsted before; which I did not mean, though his manner of proceeding, in part renewed it again. And, 2dly, Because he thought I intended thereby to evade his question and matter; wherein he imagined he had so great advantage: and therefore he interrupted me, saying, "What is this to the purpose?"

I replied, Though it is nothing to thy purpose, it is to mine: And now I answer directly to thy question, and say, that the charge is founded upon a false suggestion; for though we do not frequently use the very words of that prayer in our meetings, as the manner of some is, yet we sometimes use it verbatim, and often the sum of it in other terms; and we often likewise explain the nature, end, and substance of it in our meetings, for the information and edification of the people; and how can we explain it, and not first rehearse it? And how canst thou say we never repeat it, having been at so very few of our meetings? He replied, "I never heard you; and

who else here ever did?" Then arose a voice and cloud of witnesses, both Friends and others, saying, "I have, I have, I have;" and amongst the rest, a lawyer said, "I have heard Joseph Glaister, now present, in particular, use it, and others also." "O then," said the priest, "I have no more to say on that account."

Then I informed the auditory, that though we sometimes used that prayer in form and often the substance of it in other words in our supplications to the Almighty; yet it was not proper for the state of every man to use it, nor to be done in men's own wills and times; when, and as often as we please: for there is a qualification necessary to be known in them who use it rightly with acceptance: For though all men be the children and offspring of God by creation, yet none can call God Father, truly, in an evangelical sense, but such who have the evidence of the Spirit of God, that they are at least, begotten of him by the influence of his divine word and Holy Spirit; and must be come to a good degree of righteousness, and holiness also, by the sensible operation of the Holy Spirit, in their own hearts: And as to the praying therein for the forgiveness of sins (as he hath suggested that we reckon ourselves so perfect and righteous, that we do not need to pray for forgiveness), that is not necessary to every state; for as the apostles, though called of Christ unto that great work, yet were not thoroughly converted at that time when so taught to pray, and might have some sinful infirmities remaining, not perfectly subdued; yet as they knew the Lord Jesus to be the Messiah, the propitiation for their sins, and had the evidence of his Holy Spirit that all their sins were already pardoned, and could justly call him, "The Lord our righteousness; wonderful Counsellor; the mighty God; the everlasting Father; the Prince of Peace;" there was no reason for such to pray for the forgiveness of their sins, having already obtained it of God the Father, through his infinite goodness and mercy in Christ the Lord; and even so it is now.

I added, that there has been much bitter contest among Protestants, and others, about that prayer; several sects of

dissenters from the national forms, both Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, arguing, that if men use the substance of it, though in other words, it is sufficient; making it rather, as it were, a text for prayer, than a proper prayer in all cases, or necessary to be used in so many words: And the variety of forms of prayer in your own "Common Prayer Book," shows that you yourselves do not think it is. And notwithstanding that form of prayer, the Apostle Paul, who was not ignorant of it, saith, long after it was given, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit; because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." So that here it is evident, that as this form of prayer especially, and other forms, as fruits of the Holy Spirit, may be of use unto men while they are not thoroughly sanctified; but being sanctified, then the immediate influence and assistance of the Holy Spirit of Christ, the only Mediator and intercessor between God and man, is most to be waited for and relied upon, in all our duties toward God, whether prayer, praises, preaching, or any other part of divine worship and service: and ye profane even that prayer itself, by so many vain and needless repetitions of it, without either the Spirit or understanding what you say; or so much as belief of the possibility of obtaining what you would seem to pray for therein; and "what is not of faith is sin."

Now as to the introduction, or address of that prayer of prayers, it is to the Almighty, as he is the Father of all; with acknowledgment that his habitation is in Heaven, above all. And the first petition is, that his name (or by what word soever the Divine Being is meant, expressed, or designed) may be mentioned with reverence and awe, as the most holy thing; and not blasphemed, lightly used, profaned, or taken in vain. And the second petition is, that his kingdom, rule, dominion, and government, may come, be made manifest, and established over all the earth, and every soul therein, through.

out all generations, as explained by the next words therein, that is to say, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven;" which implies the highest degree of perfection and exaltation human nature is capable of in this life: for, if the will or law of God is to be done on earth as in heaven, then there can be no more possibility of sin, unrighteousness, or evil, among the children of men, to the end of the world; for the expression is unlimited, including all persons, ages, and times: And all the holy angels of God in heaven, and the spirits of the just made perfect, continually and for ever do the will of God to all perfection, in which also standeth their life eternal: And we are here taught to pray, that it may likewise be the same here on earth. And the next petition in this divine and most perfect prayer, regardeth ourselves, with respect to our present personal divine nourishment and sustenance while here on earth, and for ever: and that is, "Give us this day our daily bread;" even the true bread which the Father giveth from heaven, the bread of life, which giveth life unto the world, of which mankind may eat and not die; the living bread which comes down from heaven, of which whosoever shall eat, he shall live for ever; which is likewise that flesh which Christ giveth for the life of the world; and unto him whosoever shall come shall not hunger nor thirst any more. This is that ever-living and heavenly bread which giveth life unto the world. This is the hidden manna, more excellent than that in the wilderness: The tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God. By the breaking of this bread is the Son of God made manifest unto him who eateth thereof, to be that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. This is the same heavenly bread which the apostles and primitives loved, desired, and prayed for, that they might be continual partakers of it; and which we also have prayed for, do pray for, and have been, and still are, mercifully and graciously heard of the Holy One, unto whom we do pray. By this bread we grow and increase from state to state, from stature to stature, and from strength to strength unto eternal life, and everlasting establishment and perfection in glory, in and with him

who liveth and reigneth over all, in all, and above all, and is worthy for evermore.

The next petition is, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us." This petition also is suited to general or universal communion: for as all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, all, and every one ought, being convinced of sin by the Holy Spirit, to confess their sins unto him who convinceth them, and to desire forgiveness: whether of God for sins committed against him, or for trespasses done, one against another: and in both cases, confession is to be made unto the offended, and forgiveness requested, before we can reasonably expect it, whether of God or man. For as to our sins against God, it is said, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness and sin." And as to our trespasses one against another, it is said, "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother," &c. Or, again: "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him." And as God is merciful unto all, so he would have us all merciful one to another; and therefore Christ the Lord commenteth upon this petition in an especial manner, saying, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive your trespasses." In all which the Lord teacheth us to be like himself, full of goodness, mercy, and social virtue, doing the will of the Father on earth as it is done in heaven, in a state of restoration, redemption, righteousness, and true holiness, the end whereof is life eternal: which is opposite to a state of sin, in the nature of things, and the end of the coming and manifestation of the Son of God.

The next petition is, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water, and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a

dove, and lighting upon him; and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit, into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil." Mankind, in general, being already in sin, and under condemnation in the first Adam, and Jesus the Saviour only free, being the Lamb of God, without spot or blemish; it was necessary in the council of the Father, that he should be tempted of the evil one, the common enemy and tempter of mankind; that thereby, even as man, he might have a fellow-feeling of our weakness and infirmities, and be the supporter of such as should believe and trust in him, and be tempted of evil; which petition is also obtained by those who are his through faith in his name: For as God tempteth no man, nor is he himself tempted of evil, those who are tempted are led aside of their own lusts, and enticed; so he suffereth none of his "to be tempted above what they are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that they may be able to bear it" (and it is no sin to be tempted unless we yield;) which temptations are suffered upon those who believe, and are thereby become the children of God, that they may have full trial of the manifold grace of God towards them; their faith, patience, and love toward God, and one toward another in him; and experience his blessing upon them, and come forth from under the weight and burdens of temptation, as from the furnace of afflictions, as pure gold seven times tried therein; and not as reprobate silver or dross, remaining as we are by nature, in a sinful, sensual, polluted condition; ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth or salvation by him.

The last and concluding part, is a just and sincere acknowledgment unto the Father, that we can do nothing without him, but by him; "for his is the kingdom, and the power," to enter therein, by which alone we can do all these things and our whole duty unto his holy requirings, whether with respect unto the Lord himself, or one toward another, as we ought: And, therefore, as we have no power, or self-sufficiency of our own, no glory or praise belongeth unto us for the work required

and wrought, nor for any works of supererogation, or imaginary self-additions, either during our conduct and abode in this world, or in the world to come. And so this matter rested without reply.

Now, said I, it is my right to propose the next subject-matter to discourse upon; and therefore I ask thee this question, Whether or no did Christ, or any of his apostles, demand, force, or receive any maintenance or thing, from any person or people, who did not receive or own them and their ministry? And when did the Son of God give power unto any of the princes or powers of the earth, to concern themselves, or intermeddle with the proper affairs of his kingdom; which is not of this world? or to ordain ministers in his Church? or appoint, direct, or assign them any support or maintenance?

James Burtell assumes the affirmative, and Thomas Story denies it: And agreed, that the matters shall be determined by express Scripture proof only, or by fair, natural, and unforced consequences deducted from thence.

James Burtell having assumed the affirmative, offered his proofs as followeth: "The apostles and ministers of Christ, being sent to preach the Gospel, were to live and be maintained by it; as plainly appeareth by the doctrine of the Apostle Paul on that subject, where he saith, 'Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.' Again, 'If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? Do ye not know, that they who minister about holy things live of the things of the temple; and they who wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar.' And those Scriptures the apostle expressly applieth to the maintenance of the apostles and ministers of Christ, in preaching the Gospel, and exercising their ministry, in the various branches thereof, according to their several callings and gifts. And this they claimed, not only as voluntary contributions or donations at the option of the people, but of

right, by virtue of the power they had over them, and as an ordinance of the Lord, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel."

I answered, This is a sophistical way of reasoning, and doth not answer the first part of the question for which he adduceth it, nor proves his assumption therein: For that part of the question is, Whether Christ or his apostles did ever demand force, or receive any maintenance from any who did not receive or own them and their ministry? (which is the case between your ministers and us). And not whether any support or maintenance at all be due of right, to the apostles and ministers of Christ, from the people who receive them as such, and believe in Christ as the Messiah and Saviour of the world. But he only attempts to prove, that some support or maintenance (but saith not what or how) is due to the apostles and ministers of Christ in preaching the Gospel (which we have never denied), by which he would elude that part of the question, and impose upon us a fallacious and pretended proof of what is not therein: For these texts of Scripture do not prove such a maintenance due, even to the true ministers of Christ, or to be had by such means as your ministers now demand, exact, and receive them; not only from such as believe they are ministers of Christ, but likewise from us, and others, who do not believe it; being assured, that no such wages, hire, or maintenance as they demand, is due unto any ministers of Christ, and much less to them, by any command or ordinance of Christ, or doctrine or example of his apostles: For when Christ first sent forth his twelve apostles, it was in the power and wisdom of his own Spirit; in which they had power to preach, to heal sicknesses, and cast out devils and unclean spirits.

And, as to their protection and maintenance, they were to depend immediately and absolutely upon the providence of God, and travel in that work, under great natural disadvantages. For they were not to provide beforehand, either gold, or silver, or brass in their purses, nor scrip, or two coats apiece, nor shoes, nor staffs (except one only), nor bread.

And when the Lord appointed other seventy, and sent them

likewise by two and two, they also were prohibited to carry with them either purse, or scrip, or shoes. And as to any reward from men, either for preaching, healing, or any other part of their work, they were not to have any, save their meat; for as the power was, and is, of God only, they were not to make an advantage or gain of it to themselves; and therefore he said unto them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." Yet the workman is worthy of his meat. Neither were the seventy to have other wages from those to whom they preached, or healed, than the twelve had; that is, to eat and drink such things as they to whom they preached gave or set before them. And when they returned to give account of their service, the Lord increased their power, as a further encouragement in their labor.

Neither were they to have protection from any temporal power (such powers being universally against them), but, on the contrary, were sent forth as sheep among wolves, and cautioned against the cruelties of men: Neither were they to premeditate what to say, when brought before governors and kings for the sake of Christ and his testimony; but to depend upon the immediate assistance of the Spirit of God in themselves. By all which it is evident, that the apostles and ministers of Christ were not, and are not, to demand, force, have, or receive any other maintenance or thing from any, save only their meat, drink, and personal necessities, during the time of their ministry; which clearly explains the doctrine of the Apostle Paul in all those texts now adduced by your minister: that is, that no other way of maintenance is ordained or allowed to the apostles and ministers of Christ, or to live of the Gospel, than their meat, drink, and reasonable and necessary sustenance, in the exercise of their ministry; and from them only who receive them as ministers of Christ, and give it freely.

But, though this be a privilege given and due to the apostles and ministers of Christ, what is that to thee and you? Who hath made you ministers of Christ? Who sent you? And to do what? (for they who run when God sendeth them not,

do not profit the people in the things of God at all). Whose workmen are ye? And who hath assigned unto you wages? and what? What have you freely received; and from whom? And what can you freely give? And unto what cities or towns have you travelled in the service of the Gospel of Christ? What warfare are you in? What vineyards have you planted? and what fruit do your plantations yield? and what flock do ye feed? and what corn, or tares, do ye tread out? and what corn have you threshed, or fields ploughed? and what spiritual things have ye sown; and unto whom? For if ye reap where ye do not sow, ye are not servants of Christ, but hard masters, usurping domination over the servants of Christ, and the rest of mankind; extorting, though by a law, carnal things, where you sow no spiritual; and from those, too, who do not receive you, nor your ministry; from whom ye ought to receive nothing, if you were ministers of Christ, but "to shake off the dust of your feet as a testimony against them?"

And what holy things do ye minister? and to whom? and in what temple? and what altar do ye serve? and what Gospel do ye preach; and by what authority? For the words or talk of the Gospel, though true, are not the Gospel; for the Gospel stands not in words only, but in power: And why should you live of the Gospel (or some words of it mixed with your own, which ye call so), seeing the apostles, and true ministers of Christ, were not otherwise to live thereon (as to temporals), than as I have related, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures? And why do not you, as the apostles did, work with your hands, that the Gospel might not be chargeable? And under what necessity are you to preach? And who laid it upon you? And are you under any other wo, but from the voice of your own importunate bellies, if you preach not something? And are ye willing to be servants unto all, that ye may gain many unto God; or much rather to domineer and insult over all, that you may gain abundance of the riches, preferments, honors, glory, and other carnal things of this world; and under false pretences to the Gospel, and by evil

example of life, and false doctrine of "sin term of life, and heaven in the end," lead such as will follow you into final perdition?

James Burtell replied in short, "Notwithstanding what hath been said, this apostle, and consequently the rest, must have had support from the believers in those days; for, he saith, 'I have robbed other churches, taking wages of them to do you service.'"

I answered, It is to be observed, that the several churches or congregations in those days, had certain common public stocks or funds, out of which the necessary charges of the ministry, in preaching the Gospel, were defrayed, and the needs of the poor saints supplied; which arose from the love, good-will, and charity of the believers in Christ; every one giving, without any other law or compulsion, according to his own free-will and purpose; which began in Christ, and his twelve apostles, by the love and gratitude of those who had been great sinners, or under personal maladies, and forgiven and healed by him: For it is testified by Luke the Evangelist, "that certain women, who had been healed of evil spirits, and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susannah, and many others, ministered unto him of their substance:" And they had a common purse, or bag, which was carried and managed by the most unworthy among them, by Judas, the thief and traitor; out of which they sometimes, as they had occasion, bought bread and necessities for themselves, and likewise gave to the poor: but nothing was particularly appropriated, either to Christ himself, or any of his apostles, save what covetous and unfaithful Judas might rob them of, and steal: And as the disciples increased and multiplied in number, so did this order and usage, with respect both to giving and receiving, and to the same happy ends and purposes, for the promulgation and propagation of the Gospel of Christ, and salvation unto mankind by him, and exercise of charity as a great fruit of his coming; and not to appropriate any part to any particular person, like Judas, greedy of filthy

luere, or Balaam, "who loved the wages of unrighteousness," to the enriching of themselves and families, at the expense of the Church: as happened among them, in process of time, and remaineth among you, by succession, unto this day.

And as to the apostle's robbing other churches and taking wages of them to serve the Corinthians, it is only an elegance of speech (for he was learned, and an orator), and no way importeth that he appropriated to his own separate use anything he received on account of his ministry, but that when he first preached unto them of Corinth, he was not chargeable to any man, but did it freely, as to them; his necessities, and charges of his travels to them, and his ministry, being at the same time supplied and sustained at the charge of the Church in Macedonia; which had been settled before them, or by some brethren who came to him from thence: And as in all things he had kept himself from being burdensome unto them, so he resolved to continue to keep himself; intending thereby to cut off all occasion of reproach by certain false apostles then among them (as there were many such, of the Jewish race, in other churches, or congregations, likewise in those days, in whom the church of antichrist, or synagogue of Satan then began); who were deceitful workers, transforming themselves, as many do at this day (succeeding them in the same way and works), into the likeness of the apostles of Christ, the ministers of righteousness. And the Apostle Paul was so far from receiving anything unto himself, or for his own private separate use, for, or in respect of his ministry, or exercise of it, that he commonly wrought with his hands to that end, being a tent-maker; and, towards his latter end, taking his last and solemn leave of some elders, who had the oversight of the flock of Christ in those parts, and, in appeal to their knowledge of him, and his conduct on that account, and to excite them by his example to the like practice, he saith, "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them who were with me: I have showed you all things, how, that so laboring, ye ought to support the weak, and to remember

the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive:" which were the last, and as it were, the dying words of the apostle to them.

To this the priest answered, "I do affirm that where the people are so cold and unreasonable, that they will not contribute willingly to the support of the ministry, it is the duty of all emperors, kings, princes, and powers, to force them to contribute and pay; and to afford them a proper, plentiful, and honorable maintenance, for themselves and families."

I answered, Do I hear thee right: dost thou say, that those temporal powers of the earth are obliged to force, and compel such to pay and contribute to the support of a ministry, in matters of religion, they cannot, and do not receive, hear, nor believe? "Yea," said he, with a continued haughty priestly air, "all within their dominions, whether they will hear or no: And beside, where laws are made by governments, you and all men thereunder, are obliged in conscience to obey and perform them."

I replied, But remember "that I do affirm," though ever so warmly pronounced, is no proof from the Scripture, nor reasonably deducible from thence, that all laws made by temporal powers and governments are binding upon men's consciences in matters of religion: or that emperors, kings, and princes, or any form of legislature whatever, have any power from God to make any laws concerning the Church of Christ, or the Christian religion, to be binding upon the conscience of any; for the Church of Christ, being his kingdom in this world, though not of the world, is independent, as such, on them and their laws, in matters of religion (though subject unto them and their just laws, in matters merely of civil right); but it standeth firm for ever, upon its own immovable foundation, the eternal rock of divine Truth, under the sole and immediate rule of the Holy Spirit of the Son of God.

To this he offered no other reply, than to repeat his assertion in like terms, "that the temporal powers have full authority and right in the case; and upon them," said he, "we will leave it."

I answered, This I perceive is the plain English of the matter, that the arbitrary authority of temporal powers is your only standing argument; which you will no longer insist upon than where those powers favor your own interests: But I oppose a negative to this thy position, That all laws made by emperors, kings, princes, potentates, powers, and legislatures of the world, concerning matters of the Christian faith and religion, neither are, or ever were, binding upon the consciences of the true and faithful members of the Church of Christ.

For, 1st, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, when he erected a golden image, and dedicated it to his false god, before the princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, sheriffs, and all the rulers of his many provinces, and they stood before it, when a herald made proclamation to the people of the nations and languages, under this mighty, arbitrary, despotic king, that, at the sound of his instruments of music, they should all fall down and worship that image, on pain of being cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace: And accordingly all his people obeyed and worshipped the image.

And as the children of this world, born after the flesh only, in a natural state, have through all ages, envied, hated, and persecuted the children of light; so informers of such kind soon informed the king of the disobedience of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, children of the captivity, and faithful servants of the only true and living God; who boldly and nobly refused to worship the image, which this proud, powerful, furious, self-exalting, and blasphemous tyrant had set up: telling him to his face, "they were not careful to answer him in that matter," though they were some of his chief ministers of state, and in great reputation with him in the affairs of his civil government; but loving, fearing, and honoring their God, and trusting in him, who they knew was able, and that he would deliver them, and yet in humble submission and resignation to his will, in case the Lord should not think fit to do it, they, with a magnanimity becoming the servants of the

Almighty, answered the king in plain terms, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up:" and they, being faithful in their trial, the decree of the tyrant was executed upon them; wherein they had the honor of the divine company of the Son of God, and his protection; by whom they were delivered from the voracious fury of an enraged king, and intense force of an aggravated furnace, to the surprise, astonishment, admiration, and humiliation of the king, and wonder and regret of his advisers, their enemies.

And being thus delivered, they then obeyed the lawful command of the king; they came unto him when he called them; and then by the faithfulness of these worthies, the most powerful king in that day (and few, if any, so great since) gave glory to the only true God, saying, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants who trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God: And therefore he made a decree, that every people, nation, and language, which should speak anything against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dunghill; because there is no other God who can deliver after this sort. And so far were they from losing the king's favor by their faithfulness unto God, that they were further promoted by him in the affairs of Babylon.

Here is a very clear and authentic instance where conscience toward God, in his faithful servants, opposed the law, command, and decree, of one of the greatest kings, to the glory of the King of kings, whose counsel they obeyed therein.

Again, 2dly, Daniel, because of his wisdom and integrity, being preferred to the first state of the kingdom by Darius, above one hundred and twenty princes, and two other presidents, was envied by them; who seeking occasion against him concerning his office, and finding none, they contrived a way to come at him concerning the law of his God, and, by their

subtle counsel, to deceive the king, so as "to establish a royal statute, and make a firm decree, that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man, for thirty days, save of the king, should be cast into the den of lions." And Daniel, though he knew of this decree, was not deterred thereby from doing his duty to his God; and therefore "went into his house, and his windows being open in his chamber towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God as he did aforetime:" And his enemies watching, found him so doing; and then they informed the king of his disobedience, and aggravated it unto him, so that Daniel might be destroyed; and the king, too late, perceived how he had been circumvented and deceived by his princes, nobles, and counsellors, to make that decree in envy against Daniel, which nevertheless was executed upon him; and yet, through faith in God, the mouths of the lions were shut, so that they could not hurt him: But his enemies being justly cast unto the same lions, they were quickly devoured as a proper reward of their envy and cruelty against an innocent servant of the true God; who, in the conclusion of all, was magnified above all, by a public decree of that great king, "that over all his dominion men should fear and tremble before the God of Daniel:" So that in this great instance also, men's consciences towards God are not bound by the laws of men; yet the same persons, who, at the hazard of their lives, disobey the unjust laws of men, readily obey and execute the laws and ordinances of men when they are just, and for the common good, and that also for conscience' sake.

And, 3dly, The Lord Jesus Christ himself suffered under pretence of a law, against whom there was no law; for he obeyed all the righteous laws, both of Jews and Romans, so far as his condition in the world subjected him to them: For though he was and is the peaceable Saviour, and came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, yet, in obedience to the laws of men, where not opposite, or interfering with the law of God, he nrought a miracle to pay a poll tax; where, in strictness, the law did not require it of him, nor of his disci-

ples: for having Roman privileges by virtue of an old league between the Jews and Romans, whereby they were as children, and not strangers; nevertheless, to obviate all occasion of offence, he submitted to it, though only an ordinance of men, and his apostles likewise, as an example to his Church, through all ages to come.

And the apostles and ministers of Christ bare witness unto him, and preached the Gospel, contrary to the laws, customs, and ordinances, both of Jews and Gentiles; by which they suffered all things for his name's sake, as thousands have done through all ages since that day, and still do until now; though no magistrate, in the days of the apostles, if any since, so rightly and plainly distinguished between what was, and is properly cognisable before the civil state, and what was not, as Gallio did; who said unto the Jews, in case of their great uproar against Paul, "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you, but if it be a question of words or names, and of your law (a matter touching your religion only), look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drove them from the judgment seat."

Again, 4thly, When Dioclesian, Maximian, those despotic Roman heathen emperors, and their Caesar's colleagues, began the tenth persecution against the Christians, and issued their arbitrary decrees and edicts against them, and the Christian faith and religion; determining to root out the very name and thing Christian from under heaven, and to restore their own false gods and idolatry; requiring all to renounce the true God, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, and Saviour of the world; and to deliver up into their hands, all the books, writings, goods, and things belonging to the Christians in those days, and their worship; and to worship the false and imaginary gods of the heathens, yet, though these tyrants were lawful rulers of the Roman state, according to the constitution thereof, as then established, and had the exercise of the civil government, and the Christians throughout the empire were subject to them therein, as well as their own heathen

people; yet when these tyrants made laws, decrees, and edicts, contrary to the Christian faith and religion, no true Christian thought himself bound in conscience to obey them; and therefore all the faithful in those days refused it, and were therefore persecuted and destroyed with unspeakable cruelty; under which the true and living God, and Jesus Christ his Son, whom they worshipped and obeyed, sustained them, to the total overthrow of all those adversaries of God and his people, and that government and power in the end, and to the glory of God and our Saviour.

But it is observable, that great part of the Christians themselves, of all orders, at that time (or such as were under that sacred name) were in a state of degeneracy when that persecution began; and such, not being upon the true foundation, could not stand so great and lasting a storm; in which the greatest part of them who were tried, especially those who had placed themselves in the highest stations in the congregations, as the bishops and elders, apostatized and complied with those laws and edicts, and openly renounced the true God and the Lord Christ, and treacherously delivered up unto the heathen whatever was in their custody, trust, and power to yield; whereby they did not only basely and cowardly save themselves from the destruction and desolation which the faithful sustained, but thereby brought the load so much the heavier upon them: And yet, when the next succeeding emperor, Constantine, came upon the throne, and declared himself a Christian, and restored their privileges, with many additions and immunities, those detestable hypocrites and apostates, unjustly and unreasonably usurped, and resumed, by force of numbers, the stations, offices, and places which they formerly had in the congregations: And being opposed therein by the faithful, who branded them with a name of distinction, suiting their actions, calling them traditors, would have no communion with them; but they being much more numerous than the faithful, and more subservient to the ends of human state, by receding from the strict rules of the Spirit, Church, and kingdom of Christ, they united themselves with

the Roman temporal power: and as the greatest part of all fallen natural men, as well as the princes among them, do ardently lust after power and dominion, and the boundless increase of it to themselves, they prevailed with Constantine (who at that time knew little or nothing of the constitution of the Church of Christ, with which he ought not to have meddled, not being under his jurisdiction and rule as such) to call a general council of the Christians throughout the empire, there never having been a general, but only provincial councils, before that time; in which council, the apostate company of hypocrites, under the power and authority of a temporal prince, who, as such, had no power in the Church of Christ, being most numerous, self-assuming, and audacious, they thereby outvoted, suppressed, and oppressed the faithful; and so began, set up, and gradually established an united temporal and pretended spiritual power and kingdom in the earth, under the name and pretence of the Church and kingdom of Christ; but was really and indeed the first visible and open appearance of the kingdom of Antichrist: which, under the umbrage and disguise of the usurped name of the Church and kingdom of Christ, hath acted and perpetrated the most cruel murders and destructions against the faithful servants of Christ, in all ages since, not short of, but rather exceeding, those of the most barbarous heathens, even until this day, and that not without tyrannical antichristian laws, canons and ordinances, pretences and edicts, of their own inventing and forming: Witness their cruelties and murders of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wicklifists, Lollards, and by whatsoever names of reproach their envy prompted them to call the faithful in all ages and countries since: And likewise the more modern, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants, in the ages wherein they severally arose. In France, under that king, thousands were murdered: In England, under King Henry VIII., and Queen Mary, many thousands were massacred by Papists, and all by laws and edicts made by the murderers themselves, upon pretence of religion, contrary to the true nature and end of that religion they falsely pretended to support and propagate.

And, last of all, we, who are called, in scorn, Quakers, have, in this present age, and last century, been cruelly persecuted under the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and his priests; and some hanged at Boston, in New England, by the Presbyterians: and in the reign of King Charles II., the luxurious head of the National Church of England, many thousands of us were deeply persecuted there, in our native country (where we had, and have, natural rights as other men), by laws for banishment, imprisonment till death, spoiling and confiscating of goods and estates in lands, beatings, scourgings, and cruel mockings and abuses, by the magistrates, in the exercise of their offices, perverted and misapplied upon us; only for our testimony to the only true God, who is eternal, intellectual, divine light, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, the second Adam, and quickening Spirit; the true and saving light, "which lighteth every man who cometh into the world." All which violence was exercised upon us by the instigation of the priests of that monarch, and their votaries and creatures; the faithful, in all ages and places, under what name soever, patiently suffering cruel punishments and abuses for their conscience towards God, and Christ the Lord, by the spirit and power of antichrist, ruling in the priests of all sorts and names; whereby and subtlety thereof, they deceived the rulers, and excited them to make unrighteous laws concerning religion; which is not their proper business nor work, as relative to the kingdom of Christ and another world; but civil rule and government only, as an ordinance of God in the kingdoms of men, for the better rule of this world.

But those laws, made on pretence of religion, are generally for the giving, increasing, advancing, and establishing of power in the priests of all nations, and their dominion over the consciences of mankind, and their increase in the riches, honors, pleasures, and glory of the world, and not for the honor and glory of God only: The sufferings of the faithful in Christ therefore, in all ages, have not arose from the breach of any laws relating only to civil government, which they do readily observe and conscientiously obey; but in a testimony

for God, and the kingdom of Christ on earth, against all anti-christian priestcraft, power, domination, and impositions, in every degree and form; and that the divine power of the Christian faith and religion, may be restored in its purity; the civil powers divested of, and freed from the cunning and subtle wiles, designs, impositions, and ruinous practices of antichristian priestcraft; and that equity, justice, truth, and tranquillity, may be restored and settled on earth among the children of men: which never can be whilst priestcraft, in any form or pretence, rules and is exalted in the world; and therefore ought to be fully and finally extruded, and secluded from every form of legislature in the earth, that God and his Christ may rule alone in the kingdoms of men, by his wisdom and power; that the earth may regain her Sabbaths, and the people their rest, in the divine love and goodness of God; in which all nations, people, and tongues may be united, as in that holy and universal language, which speaks the same thing, and is well understood of all, and in all: and so it must be in the proper time and way of the Almighty: "not by might, nor by power (of man), but my Spirit, saith the Lord, will I bring this wonder to pass in the earth."

To conclude, the civil rulers and magistrates are ordained of God, not as a terror to good works, such as are brought forth in mankind by the power, influence, and teachings of the grace and Holy Spirit of Christ; but to the evil works, words, and fruits of the spirit of antichrist, and of this world; for the civil magistrate is the minister of God for good unto all; but the evil-doer ought to be afraid and commonly is, of the ruler and minister of justice; who beareth not, nor ought to bear, the sword thereof in vain: for, as the servant of God, he is a revenger appointed of him to execute his wrath and vengeance upon him who doeth evil: Wherefore all must needs be subject, not only for wrath or fear, but also for conscience' sake.

And as there always is, and must be in the nature of things, a great and necessary charge attending government, a kingdom or state being but as one great house or family (and no private

or particular family can subsist without charge); for that cause all are to pay tribute, as justly imposed by the legislature; because the magistrates are God's ministers, selected by his providence to attend continually upon that very thing: And as their attendance in their offices is, and, ought to be, continual or diligently, they cannot attend the support of themselves and families by other means and applications; and therefore all the subjects are to render to all, their dues, "Tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor."

Of, and in what things therefore have those servants of God cognisance and power? but over the same things which they ever had since their first institution, against all immoralities, and evil deeds and words among mankind; whereby they can, and do any hurt, or injure one another; as adultery, murder, manslaughter, theft, false witness, covetousness, and every public offence against the moral character, attributes, and law of God; and those magistrates and powers the apostle there writes of, were not Christian, but heathen, and yet the servants of God in their stations and places; but had nothing to do to meddle in the Christian religion: and certainly, there is not a grain of priestcraft in all this, nor are such concerned herein: But as the Gospel is a divine spiritual power, not subject to the kingdoms of men, but Christ himself is king, lawgiver, and ruler in his kingdom, and hath sole power to select, qualify, and appoint his own ministers, to attend and do his own work on earth; to teach mankind when and where they are sent, to fear and love God above all, and our neighbors as ourselves; and to excite and recommend all to turn to the power and influence of divine grace and love; which worketh no ill to the neighbor, but fulfillleth the whole law.

Now, this is the sum of the whole matter in a few words more: The civil magistrates and rulers among men, have been enslaved by the spirit of antichrist, and imposed upon by his priests and ministers, to execute all their tyranny, injustice, and cruelty, against the true Church and servants of Christ; who have ever exercised the testimony of a good conscience

towards God and Christ, and the Christian faith and religion, until now; and though subject unto laws made only for civil rule, in the civil state, in every form and age, yet never unto any contrary to their own consciences, sentiments, and testimonies in matters of faith and practice, in the things of God and the Christian religion. And until it may please the Most High, by his own Spirit and power, to subdue the pride, ambition, lust of power, and dominion, and other lusts of the rulers and great ones of the earth, that error cannot be rectified; nor can there be any lasting peace on earth, or the kingdom of Christ established therein, in its extensive glory.

During the time of the depending of this point, some of the people were uneasy, and others interrupted; but the greatest number were silent and attentive: which being ended, the priest immediately moved another subject of debate; which, I suppose, was the main point which the people were most desirous to hear fully argued, and was thus:

“Our Lord and blessed Saviour Jesus Christ commands his disciples ‘to go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;’ but ye, the people called Quakers, do not obey him therein; therefore ye are none of his disciples, ye are no Christians.”

I answered, What is that to thee and you what Christ commanded his apostles in their ministerial character; for ye are no apostles? and if the neglect, or omission of the performance of that be a proof, that such are no disciples of Christ, and no Christians, then you yourselves are no disciples, and no Christians; for you do not practise anything here instituted, or commanded, in any proper sense, but an invention of your own under pretence of it.

Then I signified to the auditory, that as that person had proposed a discourse, and I had accordingly met him, yet it did not follow that he ought to assume to state any question in his own method, and draw thence his own arguments and conclusions, in favor of his own notions; nor ought any question at all to be stated, but what should relate to the known principles and practice of both parties.

Upon this Andrew Monro, the confuted priest aforementioned, started up, pressing to be heard, pretending to expose some gross errors out of our ancient Friends' books; and the Frenchman, my antagonist, was very ready to give him way: but I utterly refused it; and with my friend Joseph Glaister, suppressed it. Then stood up Major Jordan, and declared unto the auditory, that meddling with old books was contrary to the terms of that dispute, as offered by the French minister to a Friend, who had accepted his challenge on my behalf, in his hearing; and that it ought not to be insisted upon nor suffered: for it could not be reasonably expected that we, in itinerant circumstances, and upon such a surprise, could be prepared for a proper defence. That quieted them a little: and then I offered a state of the question on the text mentioned, which might include the principles and practice of both; for we own baptism as well as they.

This he and his party would have evaded, and clamorously opposed; but several of the justices said it was so reasonable, it could not be denied; and yet the priest, and his raging party (for some few such there were), rudely pressed for such a state of the question as might bring it wholly relative to our principle of the baptism of the Spirit, of which they were no proper judges, or only upon water baptism in its greatest latitude, which they do not practise; and not to be confined to sprinkling, which is their only practice, or to words necessarily including it.

Then I made a short harangue to the auditory, and observed to them the evasions of their ministers, and the reason of it; that is, lest their own practice should be detected, and made appear to be extra-scriptural. And then urged him, over and over, to establish such a state of the question as might comprehend both our principles and sentiments, and his practice upon the subject; and the greatest part of the people also, at last, requiring it as very just, and more particularly one of the magistrates, who said openly, "That if they could not defend their baptism now in use, it was high time to look for a better,"

at last he conceded, but with much reluctance; and then the question was stated thus:

“What baptism is intended in these words, Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?

“Is it water baptism only, or the baptism of the Holy Ghost? And is sprinkling of infants on the face only, in those names, with water, signing them on the forehead with a sign of a cross, where no sign remains; with godfathers and godmothers, making them promise and vow, as in the Catechism of the National Church of England, commanded and warranted by that text?”

James Burtell affirms and assumes, that water baptism only is commanded in that text; and that the present practice of the Church of England, as relative thereto, is included and supported by that command. Signed JAMES BURTELL.

Thomas Story denies that water baptism is commanded in that text; but that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is there intended. Signed THO. STORY.

My opponent having thus assumed, that water baptism only is commanded in the text, I put him upon the proof of it; which he essayed thus, viz., “There is some baptism commanded here to the apostles; and that baptism must be such as they were capable to perform: they were not capable to perform the baptism of the Holy Ghost, but with water they could baptize: Therefore water baptism only is there commanded.”

I answered, You may observe here, that the force of your minister's argument lies in this, That the Apostles of Christ could not baptize with the Holy Ghost, but only with water; and therefore it must be water baptism. That the apostles could not baptize with the Holy Ghost at their own pleasure, when, and whom, and where they would, in their own wills (as your ministers can, and do administer what they call, and have taught you to believe and think, is Christ's baptism), I

grant; but that the apostles could not instrumentally baptize with the Holy Ghost, I deny: For that institution is introduced after this manner, "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. And he said unto them (at the same time), Go you unto all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." And that this was not water baptism plainly appeareth by what the Lord further commanded his apostles at the same time, That they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which he had told them of before he suffered; for "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

This baptism here commanded is not water baptism; for the apostles were in the practice of water baptism in John's time, before the institution of this baptism; and is here contradistinguished as belonging to John's dispensation, and which some practised (though we have so few instances of it, that it can hardly be called practice with propriety), after the beginning of the ministration of the baptism of the Holy Ghost; which none can administer without the immediate presence and power of the Holy Ghost (the Spirit of Christ), given to that end; but some apostles both could and did administer water baptism, in the proper dispensation of it, without the power of the Holy Ghost (which was not then given as a dispensation), and which any bold and busy undertaker at this day both can and do administer, by the ordinary powers of nature, without the assistance of the Holy Ghost on that account; which they neither know nor believe in: But the baptism here commanded, neither the apostles themselves could, nor much less any else can administer, but by the immediate power of the Holy Ghost co-working in them, with

them, and by them; and therefore Christ promised that "they should receive power after that the Holy Ghost was come upon them;" and then, and not till then, they were his proper witnesses, but could not baptize with the Holy Ghost, until they themselves were baptized therewith: And as he who hath all power in heaven and in earth, promised to be with them, by that power, alway, incessantly, in that and all other works of the Gospel ministry, to the end of the world, so they went forth, and preached everywhere, "the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following:" And this promise relates not only to them then present, but to all the true ministers of Christ, according to their various gifts, degrees, and services, from thenceforth throughout all ages; yet, as a just check and prohibition to all the bold, forward, presumptuous spirits, among blind human kind, it is also written concerning the Holy Ghost, that "he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come."

- And as Christ himself is the Truth, and, in the days of his flesh, was always subject unto the Father, and under his direction, and imputed all his words and works unto him; by this text it appears to be so still, and ever will be, in all the work of the redemption and salvation of mankind. Then what and who art thou, O dark, carnal, sinful, polluted man, of all thy fallen kind, who darest assume upon thyself to intermeddle with the things of God, which thou dost not understand, nor so much as believe, that the Holy Ghost is now to be given, and waited for, as the immediate guide, leader, and director in the things of God, and work of the Gospel? Thou art an unbeliever, and therefore in a state of condemnation; thou art not saved thyself, and how then canst thou be a saviour upon Mount Zion; instrumentally to save others, in the Spirit of him who is the great Saviour of all?

Andrew Monro, the other priest, being vexed at what had been said, he, and a pot-companion of his, one Luke Havil, a physician, brake in upon us rudely and abruptly, clamoring against our Friends' former writings, not to the present busi-

ness, till one of the justices, between whom, on the Frenchman's part, and a Friend on mine, the terms of the controversy had been settled, gave them an open reprehension; and certified the auditory that nothing of our former books was to be meddled with in that dispute, nor any other books but the Holy Scriptures, which were to decide the controversy in point of proof: And then the justice gave the doctor a private hint (as himself told me), that if he did not surcease from that clamorous and mobbish behavior, tending to the breach of the peace, he should find himself obliged to exert the laws and his authority thereby upon him; and so silenced him.

Then James Burtell questioned, whether there is such a text in Scripture as that "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence;" but my companion Joseph Glaister, who was very ready that way, producing the place, the priest was then silent as to that.

Then I insisted that since I had been interrupted before I had finished the point I was then upon, it was but reasonable and fair that I might, without further interruption, proceed to finish it; and so proceeded thus, viz.:

Having proved that the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and not water baptism, is instituted, as in the text and context in question; and the full capacity of the apostles and ministers of Christ to perform it in his spirit and power, I now proceed to prove, that they did baptize with the Holy Ghost accordingly: But before I proceed any further, that we may not beat the air through any misunderstanding, or different application of words to things, favor me with thy definition of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and what thou understands by it, that I may know whether we, by the same terms, mean the same things.

He answered rightly, "that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is the descending of the Holy Ghost into the hearts of those who believe and wait for his coming." Very well, said I, but is this all? And, upon a short pause, he answered, "No, he worketh in mankind the work of regeneration; and this is his complete baptism."

I answered, Well, then I now prove, that the apostles, in the wisdom and power of the Spirit of Christ, were instrumental ministers of this baptism : First, when Peter preached to Cornelius and his household, "the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word." And in his relation of the passage, in his defence before the apostles and elders, before whom he was accused, as if he had committed an error, and broken the law or custom of the Jews, by preaching to the Gentiles, and eating with them (though their mission was expressly to all nations), he defines the falling of the Holy Ghost upon them to be the baptism of the Holy Ghost, mentioned by Christ in the text in question, or context in these words, "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them as on us at the beginning ; then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost."

Here the apostle applies this event to the terms of the text which saith, "Go teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing them ;" which shows that this baptism is sometimes administered in the time and act of teaching, in the power and wisdom of the Holy Ghost, whereof the tongue is chiefly instrumental ; as if teaching and baptizing were one and the same act, emblematically signified by the likeness of cloven tongues of fire sitting upon the apostles, at the time of the first descending of the Holy Ghost upon them ; which is more expressly illustrated where it is said, that while Peter yet spake these words (viz., which he preached), the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word : And according to the message of the angel to Cornelius, in directing him to Peter as his minister, "he should tell him words by which himself and all his household should be saved," and not by water baptism : For though Peter himself, who (with the rest of the apostles and elders) had but so lately understood the meaning of Christ in that institution, and the rest of the apostles and elders not at all hitherto (though about eight years after), said to those believing Jews who came with him from Joppa, and for their sakes (the Jews being always pertinacious of all types

and shadows, in neglect of the substance), "Can any man forbid water, that these (Gentiles) should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" (for which there could be no other reason but to obviate any offence those Jews might have taken at those believing Gentiles, if they had wanted any circumstance which they imagined necessary, and John's baptism, which the Jews had generally been baptized with, being at that time remaining in reputation), yet it doth not appear by the text that they were so baptized, nor could there be any real need of it, seeing they had received the words of salvation and gift of the Holy Ghost; whereby alone the great work of regeneration and salvation is begun, carried on, and perfected. "For after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life:" So that hence it follows clearly, that the baptism of the Spirit is well defined, and that the apostles were ministers of it, and Christ himself by them: for this baptism is the promise of the Father to the Son (not of water, as John), by the Holy Ghost; and by the Son, doth he baptize his ministers by the same Spirit: and when they have been baptized by the Holy Ghost, and received power in him, then are and shall they be witnesses unto the Father and the Son, by the Holy Ghost, unto the uttermost parts of the earth; and then shall they "go and teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing (or washing) them in the name (or power) of the Father, and of the (eternal) Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." And then also can they teach (or disciple) to observe all things which Christ himself hath commanded them, and to be with them alway, not only in that age, but likewise in all ages in succession, in the same work, and to the end of the world.

Again, for illustration, remember what is said by Christ, "I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world: Thine they were, and thou gavest them me; and they have kept thy word. As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world." And also, "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not glorified." Again, "We are able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." And the apostles frequently laid their hands on the disciples, and they received the Holy Ghost. And Paul laid his hands on certain disciples, and the Holy Ghost fell on them.

By all which it plainly appears, that though the Lord Jesus is the only baptizer of souls by his own authority, having all power in heaven and earth from the Father, and in whom all fulness of the Godhead dwells substantially, yet that the apostles and living ministers were, and are, instruments of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, no man who believes the Scriptures, and understands them, can doubt, nor support thy reason for the continuation of water baptism in the Church; which I leave to the auditory to consider.

Then said Andrew Monro, "Where you mentioned, 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of water,' there is nothing of baptism mentioned, nor has it any relation to it."

'Tis true, said I, the word baptism is not mentioned in that text, but I recite it as a collateral text, as a comparison between water and the Spirit; and that it proceeded from the faithful ministry in the act of ministering; and here is the promise of the Spirit, upon faith only, without water baptism (as any means of it), to be first administered: But thou art not the person I have to deal with, thou hast had sufficient already, and mayest have more still. And then he desired leave of the other for an hour, which he consented to; but I perceived it was only to unhinge the matter in question, and

to confound the cause, so that the people might lose the matter, and nothing be brought to bear, as he had attempted several times before. Then the Frenchman advanced a fresh argument for water baptism only, without the Spirit, in the text, thus :

“As this commandment was to the apostles of Christ, so they either understood it, or they did not understand it : To say they did not understand it, were to make the commandment of none effect, by practising another thing; and omitting the thing intended : But that they understood water baptism to be commanded, is clear from their frequent practice of it, after the coming of the Holy Ghost, as I prove by several instances.

“1st. When Peter preached the Gospel to the Jews, and they inquired what they should do, he advised them to repentance, and baptism in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of their sins, and they ‘should receive the gift of the Holy Ghost : for the promise was to them, and to their children, and to all that were afar off, even as many as the Lord our God should call ; then they that gladly received his word were baptized.’

“Again, 2dly. The eunuch was baptized by Philip (and here James Burtell read the passage), ‘See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest, &c., and he baptized him.’

“So that you may see two clear instances of water baptism by the apostles after the coming of the Holy Ghost ; and that practice shows fully what baptism was intended in the text in question.”

I answered, In the first place, I observe one thing from these two texts, which I desire thee to remember anon, upon the second part of the assumption ; that is, that those convinced by Peter, and also the eunuch, were first to believe and repent, before they were baptized ; which infants are not capable of.

2dly. That the baptism was not in the name of the Father,

Son, and Holy Ghost, but in the name of Jesus Christ only ; and shows it was no other but a continuance of John's baptism, of which they were in practice before Christ suffered, and before the command in Matt. xxviii. 19. That it has no reference to infants, though the word children is there : for all Israel, young and old, are called, "the children of Israel," as one generation ; the aged, as well as infants, are the children of their ancestors : And the promise there mentioned, has no relation to water baptism, but to the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised of God by the prophet Isaiah to Israel, "I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring," &c. ; and I deny thy conclusion barely from the practice ; for the apostles practised circumcision, vows, shaving, &c., and were in the practice (as said) of water baptism, before this command was given. The apostle "to the weak, became as weak ; to all men, all things, that by all means he might gain some : " But his practice in all he did is no warrant to others to follow him ; for he baptized with water, and yet confesses fairly that he was not sent of Christ to do it : So that neither his practice, nor that of the other apostles, is cogent.

But, to be more plain and full on this subject, let the auditory note, that John the Baptist was only sent to the Jews ; as the Lord himself also said, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (that is, as to that administration in the flesh) ; for God had promised salvation, by Christ, both to Jews and Gentiles, but in two different administrations : To the Jews he saith, "A virgin shall bring forth a son," and this son was Christ in the flesh : but to the Gentiles he saith, "He shall be a light to lighten the Gentiles," &c. And as to John's administration, it was with water, saying, "they should believe in one to come ;" but the apostles of Christ, believing in Jesus Christ, and that he was the true Messiah, baptized with water in his name, and that before the institution of this spiritual baptism ; for, whilst John was baptizing, "Jesus made more disciples than John, though he himself baptized not, but his disciples."

And as the Jews, who had, generally speaking, received John's baptism, believing in one then to come, had rejected him when come, and crucified him as an impostor, and incurred that great guilt of his blood, so they were again to receive him and own him, by being baptized in his name, and so confess God's promise fulfilled in sending the son of the virgin, before they could receive the remission of their great sins, in rejecting him as they did; and accordingly they were baptized in his name, which the apostles did upon that foot they baptized upon in John's time, and not in the text in question: For it is not very likely that Christ would institute a baptism after his resurrection, that they were in practice of before his death. And farther, there is not one instance in all the New Testament, where any apostle baptized, or commanded any to be baptized with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but where any water is used, it is only in the name of Jesus Christ, and, for the most part, to the Jews.

For, as the Jews were to have remission of sins by faith in Christ, as born of the Virgin, and the Spirit, upon that faith, is a gradual manifestation; so the Gentiles were to have remission of sins by faith in him, as he is "the true light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world:" so that baptism was no means to them of receiving the Spirit, whatever it might be to the Jews, or Jewish proselytes.

Again, you may note that the Apostle Paul, who was sent to the Gentiles in a particular manner, denies that baptism with water was any part of his commission; for he saith expressly, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. Now, since this great and first minister of the Gentiles had no commission to baptize with water, we may justly conclude it was not necessary to that work; and, if not to our forefathers, then not to us: And if he had no commission, then none could succeed him in a commission; and then the pretence of all to baptize the Gentiles is vain.

James Burtell replied, Here you say that there is no need of water baptism among the Gentiles: your two chief reasons

are, first, that neither John nor Christ were sent (in that administration) but to the Jews; and that the apostles were to succeed in water baptism to no others, instancing Paul's commission, I prove, from Acts x. 47, that Gentiles were to be baptized with water: 'Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' and Cornelius and his house were Greeks, i. e. Gentiles.

"2dly, as to St Paul, that place imports no more, than that he was not only sent to baptize, and not that he had no power at all from Christ; for he did baptize Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanus; and we cannot think he did it of his own authority, without commission from Christ: and though he seems here to be positive, that he was not sent to baptize, yet such a manner of speech you may observe in Gen. xlv. 8, where Joseph said to his brethren, it was not they, but the Lord that sent him into Egypt: whereas it is plain they sold him; but they only or chiefly did it not, for the Lord was also concerned in it: and so it is here, Christ sent not the apostle to baptize only, or chiefly, but also (and more eminently) to preach the Gospel."

I replied, the Apostle Peter, 'tis true, in that place asks a question, "who can forbid water," and commands it: but the text is not express in the point, that ever they were baptized, but may imply as well that they were not, as that they were, for, immediately upon the command, 'tis said, "they desired him to tarry with them certain days;" and that might be to consider whether it was necessary or not: besides, the apostle had been but, in a manner, instantly or newly convinced himself, concerning the salvation of the Gentiles by Christ, and might not then fully know all that was necessary, or unnecessary for them on that behalf, as it is very clear the rest of the apostles (though as much apostles by commission as Peter) did not then think the Gentiles were to be so much as saved, or that he ought to have preached to them, notwithstanding the express terms of the commission "go teach all nations, &c.," by calling him to an account about it as a breach

of the law : and in all his relations of the matter to them in his defence, he saith nothing of water baptism, but hints clearly, that till then, he had not fully understood Christ when he said, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:" so that this instance hath no force in it for water baptism to the Gentiles. And again, the apostles condescending to the weakness of the Jews in several cases, there might be something of it here, for there were divers believing with Peter who all along continuing an aversion to the Gentiles (even after their conversion), might have thought these converts to be short of them, being not baptized, and yet not able to see how little it was needful, or how little essential to Christianity, the great substance whereof they had already received, viz. the very Spirit of Christ, who is the great substance of all.

As to the Apostle Paul's commission to baptize, and the Scripture cited as a parallel expression, to force it upon him, I take it to be of no weight at all : nor is there any parallel between these two texts : for, first, they are concerning things of a quite different nature ; and, secondly, each of them fully explains itself without the help of the other. In that of Joseph and his brethren, it is clear from the context, that the thing was of the Lord, and that they were not only instruments in the secret hand of God, in bringing his purpose to pass, but also really guilty of the evil : And in this other, respecting Paul's commission, it is also plain by the context (and must be wrested by this seeming parallel), that the apostle had no command from Christ to baptize ; for he, in the first place, recounts the particulars baptized by him. 2dly. He thanks God that he proceeded no further in that practice ; which, if it had been any part of his commission, or necessary for them, he would not have done ; nay, rather than he would hazard such a surmise, that he had baptized in his own name, he rather left it off : Whereas, if it had been necessary, or any part of his commission, he would not so much have minded what any would say, as to neglect his duty in any matter of salvation ; for he passed through good report and bad report in

other cases. But, 3dly, the very text itself is so full, that nothing can be more so; for it shows both negatively and positively what he was not sent to do, and what he was sent to do; "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel:" And this being so clear, can never be wrested to another meaning to men of sense; though weak people may be blinded by false glosses, having rarely the purity of the Scriptures, but false interpretations imposed upon them, as the rule of their faith, practice, and manners.

And as to his doing anything without express authority, we have divers instances of it from himself, sometimes by revelation, sometimes by dreams, by vision, by commandment, and sometimes by permission; and that was the case here: As also in condescension to the weak; sometimes it was, Thus saith the Lord; and sometimes, Thus say I, and not the Lord; so that what one man may do prudently (in his own opinion), is no precept or cogent example to any other, and sometimes not a warrantable example: For though Paul baptized by example of others, and was not condemned for it, being well intended; yet those that attempted to cast out devils in the name of Christ, and not invested with his power, were overcome of those evil spirits.

I added further, my adversary being almost on ground, that though the apostles did baptize some, especially of the Jews, and it may be some others, in the beginning of the Gospel dispensation, yet it does not follow that there was any necessity for its continuance. For as Christ said, "I have yet many things to say, but ye are not able to bear them:" so also the apostle, "I could not write unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal: I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto you were not able to bear it, nor are you yet able." And so soon as the Church was able to bear this doctrine of baptism in its spirituality, the two great apostles, Peter and Paul, both explained it unto them. And as for a time, and under divers administrations, there had been divers baptisms, yet at last all centered in one baptism; for John was to decrease, and Christ to increase: That which decreases comes

to an end, but that which increases never ends: John has decreased near 1700 years, and is come to an end, and Christ hath increased as long to some, though the beginning of his kingdom is not yet known unto many. Paul, or the inspired author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of baptisms; but to the Ephesians he saith, "There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism;" and what that one baptism is he also informs us in his Epistle to the Corinthians, "We are all baptized by one Spirit into one body, the Church; which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Again, Peter saith, 'Tis not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection (i. e., revelation) of Jesus Christ. Here it is both negatively and positively defined what it is not, and what it is; it is not "the putting away the filth of the flesh," then not water, which extends no farther, "but the answer of a good conscience;" which never can be but by the work of the Holy Ghost, descending into us (as my adversary hath defined the Spirit's baptism), and sanctifying our hearts, working the work of regeneration, and a holy conformity to the will of God, even through that "power that raised up Jesus from the dead, by the glory of the Father, so also should we walk in newness of life:" And this is the inseparable effects of the one only spiritual and permanent baptism of the Holy Ghost; in which Christ is with his ministers, unto all that are qualified to receive it, to the end of the world. I had room enough by this time, and that made me more large; but my antagonist to this made me this unexpected return:

"It is true there is one baptism, but that baptism hath two parts, the one is water, the other Spirit: for as the body and soul make one man, so water and Spirit make one baptism."

To this I demanded his proof out of Scripture, wherever the Spirit and water made up one baptism, or concurred in the act of baptizing, as the Holy Ghost, and preaching the Gospel in the power and wisdom of the Spirit, had done.

He answered, "that wheresoever John's baptism was duly administered, the Holy Ghost was given at the same time;"

which being so palpable an error, I greatly admired at this answer, and returned,—

I will prove the direct contrary by plain Scripture (though it is thy part to make good thy assertion, if thou canst), viz. : Acts xix., where the apostle asked certain disciples “whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed? and they said, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost :” And the apostle replied, “Unto what then were you baptized? They said, Only unto John’s baptism :” So that they had duly received John’s baptism (i. e., water baptism), and were so far from receiving the Holy Ghost at the same time, that they had not so much as heard whether there was such a thing in being.

Again : Simon Magus had water baptism duly administered, and yet had neither part nor lot in the Holy Ghost.

And also (though it is not necessary to prove a contrary where no proof is offered for a position), I prove, by several instances, where water was without the Spirit, and the Spirit without water; the former in the case of the three thousand, and in the Samaritans, and the latter in the case of Cornelius.

My adversary, being thus at length on ground, and utterly gravelled, only repeated his assertion, “that as the body and soul made up one man, so the water and Spirit one baptism.” Thus, like a door on the hinges, he shifted to and again, without proceeding forward one jot.

Upon which I said, Friend, thou art in utter confusion and self-contradiction; and noted to the auditory, that his last position was against the state of the question, and his first assumption : for the question is, whether it is water baptism only, or the Spirit’s baptism; and the first he has assumed.

Then he twice denied that the question was so, or that he had so assumed (not knowing what he had said), till I produced it upon the table, having kept it in my hand all the time; and further noted, that the question was alternatively stated, whether water only or Spirit; and or being a disjunctive, it could not be both, but one or the other intended : and

therefore his last assertion was only a fruitless shift, and did not help him.

All the reply he made to this was, that if I would not receive what he said upon it, he would proceed no further.

Then I noted to the people how short he was fallen as to water baptism at large; and then put him upon his proof of the second part of his assumption, viz., "That the present practice of the Church of England (sprinkling of infants, sign of the cross, godfathers, vows and promises in their name), was supported by the text."

To this he offered little answer, but began to make away from the table, through the crowd, only mentioning that text, "Suffer little children to come to me," &c.

To this I replied, that as in the text, Matt. xxviii., the subjects of baptism are such as are capable of being taught, and of observing whatever Christ had before commanded them, which children are not: so in this latter text, 'tis plain there is no reference at all to baptism of any kind; for the people, having faith in Christ, brought their children, that he might lay his hands on them; which he accordingly did, and blessed them; testifying to their innocence and purity, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven:" and if so, then they need not anything to qualify them to enter, nor to take away original sin, as ye suppose: For though under the law, the Lord said, "I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children," upon which arose a proverb in Israel, that "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge:" that is, the fathers have sinned, and the children are punished for it: Yet under the Gospel, God gives more grace, and saith, "As I live, saith the Lord, this proverb shall cease; he that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge; the soul that sins shall die." Now, the apostle saith, that "where there is no law, there is no transgression:" sin was in the world before the law, but sin is not imputed where there is no law. Little children, though they have a seed of sin in them, as descending from Adam, the common father of all, yet that is not imputed; because Christ is "a propitiation

for the sins of the whole world." And as many suffer under the effects of Adam's fall, who never heard of it, so many receive benefit by Christ that never heard of him: "As in Adam all died, so in Christ all are made alive." And children being incapable of any law, are also of transgression, and consequently of sin; so that there is nothing to condemn them; "for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

This passed off without any reply; and then the Frenchman slunk out of the company; but, forgetting his gloves, came back to see for them, and then I asked him if he was going, and he said, Yea; so we parted friendly, wishing one another's welfare; all the company being very grave and silent.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A JESUIT. PORT LOYAL, WEST INDIES.

 1709.

CHRIST THE TRUE LIGHT.

ON the 22d, in the afternoon, Le Pere Dantriche, Jesueta Missionarius de Servans Ecclesiam Parochitaem, Porto Paris (so they gave his name and style, being of the family of the Duke of Lorraine), came to the inn where I was. This Jesuit and I had some discourse in Latin; in which, though I had been long out of use of it, and his dialect and mine much differing, we made a shift to understand one another pretty well, and he, being a master of the language, was a help to both.

I having a Latin Bible (Old and New Testament), by Beza, and an English Concordance (for I had my books and papers given me by the privateer's men), I quoted several passages to him out of both; showing Christ to be the true light that was promised as such, as the object of faith, in the first place, to the Gentiles, and then as a sacrifice for their sins: That though it was the same Christ offered to the Jews, yet under another administration, viz., as born of the Virgin Mary, according to God's promise to them; and that "this is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:" all which he could not deny. After this he began with their common notions about Peter, quoting Matt. xvi. 18, where Christ says, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church," &c., that Peter being the head of the Church, the Popes of Rome had succeeded him until this day, and were in his place, Christ's vicars here on earth, and ought to be regarded accordingly in all things."

To this I replied, 'Tis true that our blessed Lord taking occasion to ask his disciples, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" some said one thing and some another, but Peter said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;" upon which Christ replied, "Simon, son of Jonas, flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but the Spirit of my Father: Thou art Peter (i. e. a rock), and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." In all which I do not understand that Christ promised to build his Church on Peter; but on the Spirit, power, and wisdom of the Father, which opened and revealed that great and necessary truth to Peter. For though his name signifies a stone or rock outwardly, yet such a rock is too weak to bear so great a weight as the Church of Christ; but the power of the Father being almighty, his Spirit all-quickening, and wisdom all-sufficient, "the gates of hell," that is, the wisdom, council, and power of hell (for here he alludes to the kings, elders, and people of the Jews, who often held their politic and warlike councils in the gates of their cities), "shall not prevail;" but the council, wisdom, and power of God. And Christ himself, being the wisdom, power, and word of God, the elect and precious stone, the head of the corner, and binding stone of all the building, the Apostle Paul does accordingly ascribe to him the headship, only, and calls him expressly the foundation, viz., "He is given to be head over all things to the Church:" and "another foundation can no man lay than that which is already laid, which is Jesus Christ." But, continued I, if it had been true that Peter had been that rock, head, and foundation of the Church, as we see he is not, how did they prove that the Popes of Rome had succeeded him in that station? And who was Peter's successor when there were two Popes in Rome at one time, both pretending to be Peter's successors? This question I found was not grateful; and consisting of two parts, he answered only to the latter, and that by another question, viz., "When King James and King William became competitors about the Crown of England, how did the people know which was in the right?" To

this I replied, *Nullum simile currit quatuor* : That though I understood his intent and drift by this question, yet there was no parallel ; for this was wholly an human affair, and men usually, in such cases, follow the dictates of human understanding, consulting chiefly their own safety and natural interest : but, in matters of religion and divine things, it is quite otherwise ; for good and truly religious men, following the example of Christ and his saints, sacrifice all to the cause of religion, though contrary to sense and human reasoning ; therein following the revelation, dictates, and openings of the Holy Spirit ; which is never a wanting to the true and faithful in all such great cases, as the head and foundation of the Church of Christ, and his successors ; which are only they who follow Christ in a holy, innocent life. All this the good old man (for so I thought he was) heard with great patience, and without any show of anger ; but made no reply to the matter, only saying, it was near mass time and he must attend, and that we might have some further discourse another time : but I saw him no more ; though we tarried long enough there for it, if he had desired it. And, for my part, as I had come off pretty safe, after all this plainness (for I had no fear of him), I had nothing in my mind to seek after him ; though I had several discourses with many others, who had also a little Latin ; and all ended peaceably, these things being generally new to them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A STRANGER. TWISK, HOLLAND.

1715.

WATER BAPTISM.

A STRANGER began slyly and smoothly to move some conference about matters of religion, and more especially drew on toward the subject of baptism; but being aware of them, as seeing their design, we were upon our guard, and the controversy falling to my share it held not long, for as his chief allegation was, that Christ instituted another water baptism distinct from John's baptism, urging Matt. xxviii. 19 for proof, I repeating that, and the other text uttered by Christ at the same time, explaining that in Matthew, which is but a small part of what the Lord then said, in all which there is no water baptism mentioned but only John's, and that by way of distinction to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the true baptism of Christ there set forth. This put him to the common reply, viz., to a conjecture that it was water baptism, from common circumstances: which being balanced by other circumstances to the contrary and overruled by the apostle's doctrine, where he saith, "There is one body and one Spirit; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; for by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, bond or free, for we have all been made to drink into one Spirit." This is the Spirit of Truth, even of Jesus Christ, who is that one Spirit of Truth and eternal life; into whom whosoever drinketh and continueth to drink, is a true and living member of that one holy and living body in which that Holy Spirit dwelleth as a living and holy temple, and of whom he is the life, and only ruler and head; "even the Church, which is his body, the fulness of

him who filleth all in all : The Church of the first-born written in heaven ; the true spouse ; bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh," of one Spirit, life, and nature with him. He was then at a pause, and so grew a little hot : which I reprov'd him for, and cautioned him against it ; telling him, if he let that fire arise in him, it would darken his understanding, being from the root of evil.

Then his pretended friend showed himself, and alleged some insignificant things in the same, or more heat than the other ; so that we concluded he had brought the other on purpose, for he had come from Amsterdam the evening before. Then they owned that water baptism was not saving of itself ; but only being a command, should be complied with because commanded. But this being only a begging of the question, I again insisted on proof. Then he alleged Peter's question, " Who can forbid water," &c. I asked him who Peter spoke to in that question ? And it appeared that he spoke to a few believing Jews then with him : and as a question is no command, so there were prudential reasons for what Peter thought best at that time, as things were then circumstanced. For these Jews, being always tenacious and bigoted to ceremonies and shadows, even after they had believed, if Cornelius and his house had not been baptized (or at least an offer made of it, for it does not appear they were baptized), these Jews, and others who might hear of it, might think these Gentiles still wanted something they should have had to make them complete, and so deny them communion ; which, when all was done, they were too apt to do, being always self-conceited of themselves, and a tincture of the old bitterness, and contempt of the Gentiles, still remaining after they had believed in the same Saviour. And to this I added that the Apostle Peter, in all his defence before the apostles and elders, did not so much as mention this passage about water baptism ; but on the contrary, places the command and baptism of Christ in Matt. xxviii. altogether upon the Holy Ghost. And I alleged also, in the proper part of this conference, that it is not " the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good

conscience toward God;" and therefore not that baptism which extends only to the outside, and an outward cleansing of the body as water can only do; but that inward baptism and cleansing of the mind and conscience by the Holy Ghost, and fire of the word of God, and Spirit of Christ; for "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us." But how? By the washing of regeneration, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost. And this baptism is known by its effects; for by this baptism, "we are buried with Christ into his death; who in that he died, he died unto sin once, but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God;" so that they that are thus baptized and thus buried, "are dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord," the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit. "That like as he himself was raised from the dead, by the power and glory of the Father" (which was a full and perfect resurrection), even so also all those that then were, now are, and hereafter shall be so baptized, are and shall be so raised, as they keep with that holy word of life, and divine power and nature, which effects this great and truly wonderful change; which common observation and experience teacheth, in all ages, water baptism could never do, or can do, by whomsoever administered, though even by Peter, Paul, Philip, or any other, or all of the apostles. And I further urged, that since Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles, and not one whit behind the chief of the apostles; and since that command in Matt. xxviii. was given long before his conversion and call to the ministry and apostleship, if that had been a command for water baptism to any and all who should have a part in the ministry and apostleship, then it would have been a command to the Apostle Paul; But he did not think he had any power from that text, or any other way, to baptize with water; for, long after this, he saith, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel;" which was to open the blind eye, unstop the deaf ear, and "to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God:" that is, from the spirit and power of the prince of this world, and

of all the ungodly ; who is the prince of darkness, and blinds the eye of the ungodly ; and unto the Prince of Peace, the true light, “ who lighteth every man that cometh into the world.” This almost silenced them, and then they fretted ; and the stranger replied, “ that since it had once been in use, what hurt could it do to any, though such had already received the Holy Ghost ; having been once administered to such.”

I returned, that so had circumcision, yet not fit at this day. But this is not all : Water baptism is imposed as a command of Christ from that text, where there is no command for it, and is will worship ; made a part, and a great part too, of the Christian religion ; and not by Christ’s authority, but by the errors of men : not being of the true nature of the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual, but a shadow ; in which antichrist hath wrought in a mystery ; all shadows being of the nature of darkness, and continued beyond their due bounds, become hurtful : and this having been as a garment, or cover, to the ungodly for many ages, God hating the garment spotted by the flesh, cannot approve of men in their unwarrantable imitation of any shadow, at any time in use in the Church ; but has raised witnesses against them, and for the ever living substance ; without which, all that man can do or imitate, is but as Cain’s sacrifice, of no acceptance.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

COUNTESS OF KILDARE.

1716.

BEAUTY OF PLAIN DRESS.

IT being the time of the assizes, many of the higher rank were in town on that occasion, and divers of our Friends being acquainted with several of them, one day came to my friend John Pike's to dinner the young Countess of Kildare and her maiden sister, and three more of lesser quality of the gentry: Upon this occasion we had some free and open conversation together, in which this lady, and the rest, commended the plain dress of our women, as the most decent and comely, wishing it were in fashion among them. Upon this I told her that she and the rest of her quality, standing in places of eminence, were the fittest to begin it, especially since they saw a beauty in it; and they would be sooner followed than those of lower degree. To this she replied, "If we should dress ourselves plain, people would gaze at us, call us Quakers, and make us the subject of their discourse and town-talk; and we cannot bear to be made so particular."

I answered, The cause is so good, being that of truth and virtue, if you will espouse it heartily upon its just foundation, a few of you would dash out of countenance, with a steady and fixed gravity, abundance of the other side, who have no bottom but the vain customs of the times; and you will find a satisfaction in it, an overbalance to all you can lose, since the works of virtue and modesty carry in them an immediate and perpetual reward to the worker. This seemed not unpleasant, being said in an open freedom. But then, alas! all was quenched at last by this; they all of them alleged, "that our

own young women of any note, about London and Bristol, went as fine as they, with the finest of silks and laced shoes; and when they went to the Bath, made as great a show as any." Not knowing but some particulars might give too much occasion for this allegation, it was a little quenching; but, with some presence of mind, I replied, I have been lately at London and Bristol, and also at the Bath, and have not observed any such; but at all these three places, generally indifferent plain, and many of them, even of the younger sort, very well on that account: But such among us who take such liberties, go beside their profession, and are no examples of virtue, but a dishonor and reproach to our profession, and a daily and perpetual exercise to us; and I hope you will not look at the worst, since, amongst us everywhere, you may find better and more general examples of virtue and plainness. This they did not deny, and so that part ended.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CURATE OF THIRLES.

1716.

WHO ARE SCHISMATICS.

THE curate of the town, one Thomas Sharp, though he did not give us any interruption in the meeting, yet, in the meantime, put up a paper on the market cross, a copy whereof followeth, viz. :

February 25, 1716-17.

All religious assemblies which dissent from the established Church in this kingdom, &c., are schismatical, and contrary to law; therefore, to go to a dissenting congregation for any other end than to oppose and suppress such a meeting, is sinful: To go with a design to join in the worship of it is so; because this is to have fellowship with that which is sin, and partake in the iniquity of it. Or, for diversion, because it is not lawful to make a mock at sin; and they are fools, i. e., profane and wicked, who do so. Or, for curiosity, because this is in order to know and be acquainted with sin. Or, for want of better employment, and out of amusement only; because no one ought to be so idle, or so ill employed, as to pay attendance to anything which is sinful. This is to show a respect and countenance to it.

THO. SHARP, Curate of Thirles.

After we went to the inn, I had begun to write an answer to this paper; but in the mean time, came the priest himself, and one Oliver Grace, a gentleman in the country, and a lieutenant of horse, to our inn, and, seating themselves in the room, desired to see me. I went accordingly to them, and

two or three friends with me; and, after some civilities, we began upon the said paper. I observed to them, that all these supposed sinful consequences depended upon the proof of the first position, viz., "That all religious assemblies, which dissent from the Established Church in Ireland, &c., are schismatical and contrary to law;" which I denied, and put him upon his proof: But first, fully to establish the terms of his proposition, I desired him to explain the meaning of this &c.

For as there were once in England a sort of men who swore with an &c., including pro or con, to be explained as they might think most conducing to their interest or advantage afterwards; so in this &c. might be included many sorts of national churches in other countries, and some quite contrary to that now in Ireland. He answered, "I mean the Church of England only." Then I asked him, How is that Church established more than any other in Ireland? He said, "The clergy of Ireland being, in time past, met in convocation, agreed upon certain articles of religion, thirty-nine in number, which were afterwards confirmed by the king and the great seal of England." I asked him, How does it appear that this is such a Church, as that all are schismatics and sinners that differ from her? For the true Church is hid with God in Christ, the ground and pillar of Truth, the New Jerusalem, the Church of the first-born, and mother of saints; and built on Christ Jesus, the true foundation, Rock of Ages, and chief corner stone. But a Church established by human authority, is the creature of that authority: which the Church of Christ never wanted, or will want, to establish her; being settled already by his own power, to his sole glory. And if schism and sin be marks of an irreligious assembly, pray then, why are they in England and Ireland so divided among themselves, as that one part is in rebellion against the government that established them, and the whole miserable sinners, as by law established? Can it be any schism or sin to dissent from or meet together, otherwise than among miserable sinners? Some of his company being rude, and more subtle than himself, would have brought him off, by giving ill language, and so

making confusion ; for they saw where it was like to land : but he could not take the hint. For if it were schism to dissent from a national Church, why did they, in Queen Mary's time, &c., dissent? And if that was a schism, why do you continue it? Is that the reason you are miserable sinners?

Then he recurred to the sacraments, and said, "They that deny the sacraments and ordinances of Christ, are schismatics." I asked him, What does thou mean by these terms? He said, "Baptism and the Lord's supper." I asked him, What baptism? He said, "Water baptism." I replied, If all are schismatics that decline water baptism, you yourselves are so, for sprinkling infants is no baptism : It is an error both from mode and subject. Then he recurred to the authority of the Church ; which being a plain handle for turning the schism where it should be, the above officer, one of his company, threw in a diversion, by accusing me of being the leader of those bullocks, as he called the Friends there. I told him, they and I have all one leader, and I am far from assuming any such character, which is very injurious and scornful in thee to offer.

Then we proceeded upon the argument of baptism. He alleged the text "Go teach all nations, baptizing them," &c., and said it was water baptism. I said, Water is not mentioned, but in another place, by way of distinction ; showing it was not water, but the Holy Ghost, thus, "For John truly baptized with water," said our Lord Christ, "but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." He said, "The apostles did baptize these with water, who had before received the Holy Ghost ; therefore it was water they understood by the text." I replied, That is no fair deduction, or consequence ; for some were also circumcised after they had received the Holy Ghost, which established the one as well as the other ; but indeed neither : Besides, if the apostles had baptized with water from that text, they would have pursued the terms of it, viz., "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:" but they never baptized any so, with water ; therefore not from that text. Then he said, "I can prove

they did," alleging that text, "Who can forbid water," &c. I answered, It does not appear by that text, that these were baptized in the name of the Father, &c., and, in other places, it was in the name of Christ the Son only; not upon this text in Matt. xxviii., but upon the same foot on which they baptized in John's time, before the giving out this text, where Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples: But that the apostle has put out of all question, where he says, There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, which one baptism must either be water baptism without the Spirit, or the Spirit alone without water, or the Spirit and water must make up that one baptism. It is not water alone; for Simon Magus was baptized with water, and yet had neither part nor lot in the Holy Spirit. Again, the Samaritans had been baptized with water in the name of the Lord, but had not received the Spirit; and some were baptized who had not heard of it: Therefore, the Spirit and water not going together, they are not one baptism. But the apostle is clear in the point, where he saith, By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body; for we have all been made to drink into one Spirit: And this makes members of the Church, which is his body, "the fulness of him who filleth all in all;" which is not a body of miserable sinners, but of saints and saved of the Lord. They could not hear this but with divers interruptions; and he would have evaded it by some poor glosses upon some texts, viz., It was to be understood by the authority of one Spirit, &c., which I rejected. Then this Oliver Grace (said to be a late convert from Popery) began to be further abusive, and said, "You have no more religion than my horse." I asked, What hast thou seen or heard by me to provoke thee to such an expression; which thy horse, if he had like faculties as thyself, would hardly have used where no occasion was given? I told them, I am now disappointed in you; I expected, when desired and invited into your room and company, at least a rational conference on the points proposed: but to be thus horsed and bullocked, was another thing, and so departed the room.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

COMPANY ON THE ROAD TO KILKENNY.

1716.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

ON our way we fell in upon the road with some persons going to town ; and one of them offering some discourse about religion, I perceived, after awhile, he was a Roman Catholic ; and after some other points, we came upon that of Transubstantiation. He urged the words of Christ, where he said, concerning the bread, "Take, eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken for you : " and again, concerning the cup, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you," &c. This, said he, is so plain and distinct, that there can be no mistake in it : "This is my body ; this cup is the New Testament," &c.

I answered, this is a figurative speech : This bread signifies my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you : and this cup ; that is to say, the wine or liquor contained in it, signifies or symbolizes, the New Testament in my blood : For if it were a proper speech, without any figure, many absurdities would follow against both sense and reason : whereas, Christ and his apostles suit their doctrine and miracles to both. For in working of miracles, if the senses were not infallible (as they are concerning their proper objects, where the sense is not imposed upon by false mediums, or any depravation in itself ; for all mankind will conclude a man to be a man at first sight, though they may express that thing or man by different names ; as a man, viz. anthropos, homo, &c.), then it could not be certainly known whether such a thing (as raising the dead, making the lame to walk, opening the eyes of the blind,

&c.), was done at all. And as to reason, Christ often uses it; "No man can serve two masters," &c.; "No man goes to build but first counts the cost," &c. He that goes to war first considers whether he is able with 10,000 to encounter his enemy with 20,000, &c. And again, saith reason, 'Tis impossible that both the body of Christ and the bread can occupy one and the same place, at one and the same time; for when the body is present, the bread must be absent; and when the bread is present, the body must be absent.

And again to the senses: The Apostle John says, "that we have heard with our ears, seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the good word of life," alluding to the infallible certainty of sense in preaching the Gospel; "for the life was made manifest, and we have seen it:" so that as certain as is sense in sensible subjects and objects, so certain and yet more, were and are all the true ministers of Christ of those saving and divine truths they deliver from the Spirit, or essential truth and life manifested in them, in its own power and virtue; and so certain also may the hearer be of the truth of the ministry, by the manifestation and answer of the same Spirit working in him.

I further urged that it was a figurative speech, for this reason: Because he saith, "This cup is the New Testament," were it of wood, stone, or metal: That cup, whatever it was, was the New Testament, according to thy and your notion. Where then is that cup? If the cup be lost, then also is the Testament, if the cup be the Testament.

This was a little pinching, and drove my antagonist to this reply, viz., "This speech of Christ hath two parts: the first is proper concerning his body; but the second is figurative, concerning the cup."

Then said I, Friend, pray give me thy reason for the difference.

"Because," said he, "it was impossible to drink the cup, but only that which was in it."

It is a good reason, said I, friend, and holds as well the other way, for if that must be figurative respecting the cup,

because of the impossibility of drinking the cup itself, to common reason; even so, for the same reason, deduced from the impossibility of the thing, I justly conclude there is no transubstantiation.

But if it had been so, then this, and many other like absurdities would have followed, viz.: Whilst Christ sat at the table, and said of the bread, "this is my body," the body which brake it, and called it his body, must cease to be that body, and the other (the bread) must commence and begin to be his body (which it was not before), and be really so, before he could properly and truly call it so, or else there must be many, nay innumerable same bodies at the same time, and yet all but that one body; which is absurd and unreasonable.

Again, if whilst Christ sat at the table with his disciples, they all ate the whole entire Christ the evening before he was crucified, pray, then, who was left uneaten to be crucified next day? And if the first to whom he gave a piece of bread had all the whole Christ, what remained for all the rest? I think nothing at all.

Then he said, "Christ told the people, 'That except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you:'. There must then be some way of eating and drinking, to make good that saying; which is also very plain in its own nature, the flesh and blood in a proper sense."

To this I answered, That Christ did say so, and the people took him to mean properly, and without a figure, as ye now do, looking upon the impossibility of the thing, as it really is, in the sense they and you take it; but when they were all offended and gone, he turned to his disciples, and explained it to them, for they seemed not rightly to understand him; "Will ye also leave me? 'Tis given to you to understand the mysteries, but to them (the world) in parables. What then was the parable (or mystery)? "'Tis the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing." And thus it is in your own Bible as well as ours.

I further added, that if therefore the bread were really transubstantiated, after the words said, and were the true body and blood of Christ; and if they really ate and drank the

same flesh and blood which then they beheld, it would profit them nothing.

Then he said, "'Tis true the flesh and blood by itself, without the Spirit, does not profit; but when we eat the flesh and blood together, we eat the Spirit also, and that quickens as we eat it:'"

This was a deep fetch, and the last shift; which I answered thus, viz., This cannot be Christ's meaning; for he does not only distinguish, but divide between the flesh and the Spirit, "'Tis the Spirit that quickens:" Here is the whole work of quickening ascribed to the Spirit; and the same that quickens, also continues life in him who is quickened; for from the Spirit came flesh, blood, bread, wine, and the whole universe, and all that in it is; and are all continued by the same Spirit, the substance of all things; "But the flesh profiteth nothing:" Here it is set apart from the Spirit in the same sentence, and profiteth nothing to be eaten. And, for further interpretation of this, observe, 1st, the words of Christ to Satan, "Man shall not live by bread alone; but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God:" The words which proceed out of the mouth of God are Spirit and life; as said the Lord Christ, who is that word, "my words they are spirit and they are life;" which words the apostles knew, by experience, to make them alive and preserve them; as appears,

2dly. By the answer of Peter at the same time, "Whither shall we go, thou hast the words of eternal life?" So that this quickening is not by this so gross and carnal eating and drinking here imagined; but by receiving of the Spirit through the words of Christ, abstracted and apart from that holy body, and all other corporeity or body. And for the further understanding of sayings of this nature, observe, that when the disciples of Christ were showing him the temple at Jerusalem, and the beauty of it, he said to them, "Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days." The temple at Jerusalem was the object of their eyes, and subject of their discourse, which gave them just occasion, as men, to suppose he meant that temple; which they said, was forty years in

building, and could he raise it in three days? They admired at his saying: but yet, in the sequel of things, they understood afterwards, though not at the time, that he spoke of the temple of his body. Again, in like manner, where he saith, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," &c., this may well explain that other saying, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom;" which can mean no other, than as his coming in the flesh consecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the Spirit; so his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God, must intend the community of Spirit intended in the words of the apostle afterwards, concerning the whole Church, "We have all been made to drink into that one Spirit."

My opponent by this time being weary of the subject, advanced a question concerning the Spirit itself, viz., "How do you know that Spirit from another spirit, since Satan is transformed into an angel of light? May it not be that evil one, and not the Spirit of Christ?"

I replied, that the divine essential truth is self-evidencing; that the quickened soul is assured of him by his own nature, and quickening power and virtue; as saith the apostle, "Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us:" And he that is in a state of doubting is in a state of condemnation, and reprobation, and hath not yet known the Spirit, but is in death and darkness, and ignorant of God and Christ; and in such Satan is transformed, and not in those that are quickened, or regenerated; for such as wanted a proof of Christ's speaking in and by the apostles, were by Paul referred back to themselves; "Know ye not your own-selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" And again, "The Spirit itself helpeth our infirmities with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered; and searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." By this time we drew near the town, and then he said, "No doubt but you have a good intent in what you do, in travelling so in the world; but you must have some good considerations for it, as our priests have gold and silver," and mentioned about three

hundred guineas for that time. I told him no; we whom God had raised up and qualified in some degree, in this age, to that service, were advanced above any such mean, base, and mercenary considerations, as to make anything from men for this labor, which we bestow freely in the love of God, and by his commandment, for the common good of men. "Why," said he, "the apostles were but poor men, and wanted necessities, and must have received of the people, or wanted." True, said I, but then they say, "Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content:" and where that is really the case, such as are poor among us we would not begrudge them that; but it is very seldom, or never so among us; but rather, with Paul, we can generally say, "These hands of mine have ministered to my necessities;" having no desire that any such thing should be done unto us; and we generally have sufficient of our own.

Then said he, "But in case your friends, after some very good sermon, that pleaseth a great congregation well and generally, should offer you a purse of two or three hundred guineas, would you not accept it, being freely given?"

I replied, No; I hope it would be no temptation, if so it were; which never can be as long as they and I abide in the truth we profess, either to give or receive that way: I should rather be greatly troubled to see so great a degeneracy, as to subject them to so great an evil. "Well," said he, "I cannot tell; you say well, and I am apt to believe you; but if you would not, there are many would be glad of the offer, and make no bones on't, but receive it with both hands."

I believe it, said I, for there are too many mercenary hirelings in the world in this age, who, though they pretend a mission "to go teach and baptize all nations," yet, as unfaithful servants (if they were sent at all), sit down where they can have the first maintenance, and never move till the voice of a better cry in their ears; and then, and not till then, they run where God does not send them.

"There is too much of it," said he; and so we parted in friendship, with good wishes on all sides.

CHAPTER XL.

AN ELDERLY WIDOW.

1717.

RESURRECTION.

AFTER this meeting a certain widow lady, who with divers others of superior rank, had been in the meetings, and well satisfied in the main, desired some conference with me, for further satisfaction, about the resurrection, and what we held in that great point; for I had gone through most points in that creed, commonly, though not justly ascribed to the apostles; but she only mentioned that of the resurrection, owning the thing in general. She was a grave elderly person, religious and apprehensive: and I being willing to inform her, I stated the matter thus, viz.:

In order to open this mystery to thy satisfaction, let me first state and settle the terms. First. Of death, as it is applicable to the laying down, putting off, or departing out of these mortal bodies. 2dly. As applicable to the mind, or soul dwelling therein. And 3dly. Of the resurrection of both, and how applicable.

By the death of the body, I mean the cessation or departure of the soul out of it, by which it is left in a state of corruption and dissolution, as we see by common and daily experience. And though the soul is of a spiritual nature, and immortal, as to her duration, yet mortal, or corruptible, as to her true life and primitive state; being capable of losing it by her own act, and of departing from her first state of innocency and virtue, and yet living in an animal and sensual mode. And this last being of the highest consequence, and rightly understood and settled, makes way for the understanding of what

may be needful in the other, I shall first proceed upon it. For the better understanding of what I call the death of the soul, I consider her first state of life, and what that was. Man, in his first state as to his soul, or mind, was innocent, righteous, and truly holy, in the image of God. For as God is the holy, righteous, just, and true God, so Adam was a holy, righteous, innocent, just, and true man; and as God is a spirit, so was Adam spiritually minded: but as to his body, it was of the same mould and form of other men, his posterity and offspring. In this state the life of the divine word, and Son of God, was the light and law of the life of man, his guide and rule; through which word God gave unto man a law of abstinence from the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, annexing this threat and sure prophecy, that “in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.” So long as man continued in the faith and belief of this word, he remained in his first state; but as he departed from his faith therein, and believed another voice (*viz.*, of the evil one), then he died; But how? Not a bodily death; for he continued in the mode of his being, as to that, according to its first intention, living 900 and odd years, and begat sons and daughters; but as to his soul, though that is not so mortal as to be subject to the dissolution of the mode of its being, as the body is, yet departing from the law and life of the divine word, so remains in a state of separation from that life; which, after its kind, is a death unto it, and exposes it to real and everlasting misery. And this may be further collected from some other Scriptures; as,

1st. Where Christ, who is that word, said unto Martha, “I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth, shall never die.”

And 2dly. Where the apostle saith, “We who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, us hath he quickened.”

In the first part of this saying of Christ, the word of life is explanatory of the word resurrection, that life being the cause and power of it, and must intend a resurrection from the same

death here intended; which could not be of the body, but of the soul or mind of man in a state of death in the body. For these words, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live," intend a capacity and possibility of faith in the interim, and same time of this death; which a state of death, and dissolution of the body, will not allow: for man is then gone past a state of faith, or beginning to believe to salvation, and concluded for ever under the effects of his faith or unbelief whilst here below: and not only so, but the life here spoken of is intended, as an immediate consequence of that faith, as where he also saith, "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters; and this spoke he of the Spirit, which they that were to believe should receive," signifying the abundance of the life of the divine word to be made manifest in all true believers. And these words, "he that liveth and believeth shall never die," cannot be intended of a natural life, or any life, to continue a believer for ever here, or give him a translation into glory without a natural death: For the apostles and primitives were all then alive, and they all believed, and yet all died a natural death; yea Lazarus, though once raised from the dead, by the power of the resurrection, hath again paid the common debt appointed of God to all men. Have the words and doctrines of Christ therefore failed? No, they are true for ever, but not in a natural sense: For, though the saints and just ones of God are departed this life, they are alive in God, through the work and mediation of him whom God hath sent to quicken the dead, having believed and obeyed, and obtained eternal life, in and through the same divine word, whom Adam disbelieving and disobeying, fell from, into death, and all the miseries attending that unhappy condition.

And this resurrection, as I have observed, is also expressed in these words of the apostle, as a thing already attained, "We who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, us hath he quickened. Awake to righteousness and sin not. As Jesus Christ was raised up by the glory (or power) of the Father, so also are we raised in newness of life. The life which I now

live, is by faith in the Son of God." The faith of the operation of God, which works by love, wrought by him the word of faith, even the ingrafted word which createth anew unto good works, and is able to save the soul.

Now as to the resurrection of the body, we have never found that so much our concern to inculcate it, being generally received already by the professors of Christ in every nation; but opposing some carnal notions of ignorant men about it, and others being interested against us, as enemies to their filthy gain and ways, have falsely accused us as deniers of the resurrection of the dead: whereas we believe the resurrection of the dead both of the just and unjust: But as to that forward and foolish question, "How are the dead raised, and with what bodies do they come?" as secret things belong to God, so we do not presume to explain it, or answer other than the Holy Scriptures have said; but are satisfied in this, "that God giveth it a body as pleaseth him, and to every seed his own," and are rather in the first place concerned how to attain the resurrection of the just and right hand of the Father, through the life of him who is the resurrection and the life, than to gratify a lust of knowledge of divine mysteries, rather pertaining to another state, than fully understood, or to be at all known by the sons of Adam, as such only, here in this world.

To this effect I laid things before her; and she answered, "that whilst we are low and carnally minded, we have ideas and apprehensions accordingly, and being used to these bodies, and unacquainted with abstracted ideas of scriptural beings, were tenacious of bodily appearances, till these apprehensions were removed by more divine knowledge: For if in the resurrection we are to be as the angels of God, who are all ministering spirits, we shall have a more excellent mode of being than we can easily conceive in this life, or can consist with any corporeity of any material form. And she asked me, Have you read Mr. Locke on that subject, who I think has done it well?" I replied, I have seen some part of what he wrote against the Bishop of Worcester, but never read it all. What passed was to the mutual satisfaction of ourselves and

some others in company : But before she retired, I understood she had been sometimes conversant with the Bishops Burnet and Hoadley ; and having a little book with me of the latter in vindication of the Revolution, I presented her with it ; and after some more converse on some other subjects (for she had a general understanding), she took leave and departed, seeming to be well pleased, and saying she believed we had been much misrepresented in many things.

CHAPTER XLI.

EARL OF CARLISLE.

1718.

FRUITS OF QUAKERISM.

WHEN the present Earl of Carlisle was a boy, he was at that city (London) with his grandfather, then governor of the castle there, and I was, at the same time, at school in that city; which occasioned my being admitted into the acquaintance and favor of this young nobleman: And as I had then a strong affection for him, it did not wear out all this tract of time, notwithstanding the several changes both in him and me, and our differing circumstances; so that I had an inclination to see him, and speak with him, which I had not done in many years: Accordingly, taking Dr. Gilbert Heathcote in my company, partly to introduce me, he being physician to some of the family, and known to the earl, I went one morning, about nine, to his lodgings in Greek Street; when the doctor and I were called up into his chamber, where we found him undressed, in his gown and slippers.

The earl received us respectfully, though I was then become an utter stranger to him; for he did not at all know me, nor did I presently make myself known. He ordered a couple of armed chairs to be placed for us, and bid us sit down by him; which when done, and some occasional expressions past between him and the doctor, I being silent, and my mind inwardly exercised at the same time, and waiting an apt opportunity for matters of some other consequence, the earl and I fell into discourse after this manner.

“Mr. Story,” said he, “are you anything related to the Story’s in Cumberland?” Yes, said I, Thomas Story, of

Justice Town, is my father. "Did you know Mr. James Appleby, a Friend of yours, who lived on a farm of mine at Askerton?" Yes, very well. "I have the bad news to tell you, that he is lately dead. He was a good, industrious man, and improved that estate much since he had the management of it; and, I think, your people are generally sober and industrious, and few of you poor." We ought to be so, said I, for our principles lead us both to sobriety and industry. "The great end of the Christian religion," said he, "being to mortify and subdue the passions, irregular desires, and appetites of men, I see no people in the world come up to that as you do; but cannot apprehend by what means you arrive at these attainments: It cannot be anything preached among you that works such effects; for I have been at some of your meetings, and heard some of you preach, but could not make anything at all of it; and have also read some of your books, but could not make much more sense of them than of your preaching: so that I am still at a loss what to think of you in matters of religion. I knew a young man in the north of England, whom, perhaps, you might also know, a brother of Mr. Appleby's, as wild a young fellow as was in England; but, by some means or other, turning Quaker, was no sooner under that profession than he became a very sober, good man."

No doubt, said I, but thou hast read the Scriptures, and mayest remember what Christ said to his disciples a little before he suffered; "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come: But if I go away, I will pray the Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, which the Father will send in my name; he shall lead you into all Truth, and bring all things into your remembrance, whatever I have said unto you. Again, I will not leave you comfortless; I will come again unto you."

Here is the Spirit of Truth promised, which is no other than the Spirit of Christ; and is the same which was promised of God by his prophet, where he saith, "I will give him a light to the Gentiles, and a covenant to the people:" and as

the Holy Scriptures elsewhere testify, "He is that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:" And of whom the apostle saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light; and if children, then heirs." Now, though we, in and of ourselves, have been like other men, incident and subject to many failings and weaknesses, yet, it being given us to believe in the Lord Jesus, not only as he came in the flesh in that day, but also as he is the light of the world, we do not only find that his Spirit, as he said, reproved us for our sins, but is also become our Comforter and Supporter, as we have repented and left them off; and according to his promise, by degrees, leads into all the necessary truths of the Gospel, and out of evil into righteousness; giving us also to experience the end of his manifestation, the destruction of the works of the Devil, the mortification of our lusts, appetites, and passions, and to be created anew to good works, through him our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: And what difference there is between us and other men, and in our present from our former state, it is the Lord that hath done it, and not ourselves; for we have nothing to boast of but the mercies of God in him.

Then, said the earl, "If the Spirit of Christ and his light be all one, and that light be in all men, why does it not work the same effect in all men? Why have not I power over my inclinations as well as you over yours?"

Then said Dr. Heathcote, "I was once in my time wild enough; I would have done fourteen exercises with any man in England; but, when it pleased God, by the manifestation of his divine light, to convince me of the vanity of these things, and the error of my course of life, through faith in this light, and obedience to its discoveries, I am now reformed and got over those lusts and appetites of many kinds, which once were over me; and as I keep to that light, and not otherwise, I am daily preserved: And the true reason of men's being overcome by evil is because they believe not in that divine manifestation, which manifests it to be evil, but go on to act the same things after they do see them to be wrong:

but as when men leave off evil when they see it, through the power and virtue of the discoverer, then they have further manifestations of that light that discovers it, and greater power over their corruptions, till all be discovered, and all subdued ; and then there is a liberty and enjoyment in the Truth, which far exceeds all the enjoyments of this world, and a satisfaction which nothing else can give : and therefore, if thou would be rid of anything thou finds amiss in thyself, thou must not act again the same thing thou hast once seen to be evil, or else there never can be any reformation.

Then said the earl (of his own accord and without anything particularly introductory thereto by either of us), " You are a very useful people in the nation, and, I think, deserve encouragement as well as any in it. I know your people are not generally satisfied with the affirmation ; because I have been often applied to for relief of such as have suffered that way, and have always done what I could to relieve them, and have helped many : But as the king and government look upon you favorably, it were better you were relieved by law ; and if you will move the Parliament for further relief, you shall not want any help I can make you ; and, I know, many are inclined to favor you on that account : And what do you want besides this ? "

Then I said, We are very sensible of the good intentions of the government in what they have already done on that account ; but as thou has been pleased to observe (though we are not come at this time to make any complaint about it), we were not generally easy in it : And as the king and nobility, in some other cases, have been as fathers and supports unto us, so we were glad to see their good inclinations still, and hoped we should not desire any unreasonable thing, there being one wherein we yet want your further aid ; and that is, to be further relieved against the tyranny and oppression of your priests ; and I hope, said I (by the way), the Legislature of Great Britain will, in due time, take care, that it shall never more be in the power of the clergy to jostle the throne.

Then said the earl, " You would not have us, I hope, break

in upon the laws, and deprive the ministers of the maintenance the law provides them? at least till we can see as you see."

No, said I, we are very far from desiring anything that may bring the least reflection, or any just imputation of blame, upon any of you; but are as careful of your true honor as you yourselves can be: nor do we desire to lead you into any inconveniency, or blameworthy thing, if it were in our power; and so far are we from setting up any new craft, under any new umbrage, that we would have all men to see with their own eyes, and not to undertake anything, but upon sure and certain grounds: but as the legislature, with very good intent, have made laws for the more easy recovery of what you call their dues, these laws prove very oppressive to many poor, honest, industrious families: for so mean spirited are some of your country justices in divers parts of the nation, and under the influence of the worst natured sort of your clergy, that where the demand may happen to be but a groat, sixpence or a shilling, some of them will award the highest fees the law allows, which is ten shillings; which, though a small sum among you great men, is much to those who must earn it with the sweat of their brows, at two pence, four pence, six pence or twelve pence a day: And, besides this, the former destructive ways of proceeding in the Exchequer for tythes being still left in the power of your priests, many of them decline the more gentle way which the law provides, and make choice of this, if, peradventure, they may at least ruin and destroy some of us; which we hope may not be unworthy of the further consideration of our superiors, so inclinable to equity in our favor.

"Now, "said he," you say something; which, as you say, may bear some further consideration: and I know some of your people have suffered by exorbitant fees; for as complaint has been made to me, I have relieved several on that account: But, pray, on this occasion, upon what ground do you refuse to pay tythes; were they not commanded of God?"

We do not deny but that they were commanded of God; but they were made payable to the tribe of Levi, and located

in the land of Canaan only, a country at the head of the Mediterranean Sea, in Asia; but, by the coming of Christ, there is an end of that law by which tythes were given, and an end of that tribe (though your clergy still pray for themselves under that name, the better to insinuate their pretended right), and the land itself where they were payable, now in the hands of the Turks; so that the reason of the thing failing, the thing itself also fails: And since God by the death of his Son, the great high priest and bishop of the soul, hath rejected that tribe, and that service, and established a new one, to whom he hath said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" we do not find he hath empowered any of the princes of the Gentiles to assign any maintenance for his ministers: but as they have been deceived by the subtlety of the craft to impose upon mankind by laws on that account, so by that wisdom, which, in due time, will arise among them, they will yet be instrumental to undo what they have done, and leave religion and the Gospel upon its own bottom; which needs no other helper than its own Author, or maintenance for its ministers, but what itself commands; and they are really such as labor with all their might to make the Gospel they preach without charge: so far are they from destroying the people for the maintenance of their bodies, that they have no other reason or inducement for what they do, but obedience to the calling of God, and the good of souls; whereas the end of hirelings, though supported by law, is their own bellies.

"Well," said he, "you don't like our ministers; but after all, I think you want but one thing to make you a very complete people; that is, to bear arms. Pray what would have become of this whole nation t'other day when the Spaniards were coming to invade us, if we had all, or greatest part, been of your religion? No doubt we should all have been destroyed or enslaved."

To this I answered, it was upon this very political consideration that the Jews crucified Christ; for as he had raised Lazarus from the dead, it greatly awakened the people concerning him, and many believed in him; insomuch that the rulers

began to fear, that if he continued to preach his doctrines among the people, and work miracles, the body of the people would follow him : and the consequence of that would be, the state would not have soldiers or people enough to defend them against their enemies : For as it was prophesied that, under the new covenant, “they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks ; and that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more :” So Christ being the Mediator of that covenant, preached doctrines conducing to that end : “Love your enemies ; do good to them that hate you ; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.” And, to take away all suspicion of any disloyalty to Cæsar, or danger of the state from his kingdom (which was their pretence against him), he said to Pontius Pilate, “My kingdom is not of this world : for if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but my kingdom is not of this world.” Here he declares his kingdom not to be of this world, being divine and spiritual, and that his servants will not fight : For if they love their enemies they cannot fight with them, much less their friends ; and if they do good to them that hate them, they cannot fight with them neither ; and if they pray for them that despitefully use them and persecute them, neither can they fight with them ; and if they do not as Christ teacheth, they cannot be his disciples : For “Then are ye my friends, or disciples indeed,” said the Lord, “if ye do whatsoever I command you.” Now, Christ laying the foundation of such a kingdom, which is not of the world, though in the world, and declaring his subjects will not fight, it is in this kingdom, which is a kingdom of righteousness, truth, and peace, in which the prophecy before mentioned is begun to be fulfilled ; and of this kingdom Christ himself, the Prince of righteousness and peace, is only King, Ruler, and Lawgiver ; and which no way interferes with the kingdoms of this world : For as Christ himself, being born a Jew, and they, at that time, subject, in some sort, to the Romans, paid tribute to Cæsar, and thereby giving an example

to all his disciples, in all countries and states, and in all future ages, as well as that time : so the disciples of Christ, though they may not fight, they pay taxes and tribute to civil states, as well by the example of their Lord and Master as the doctrine of the apostle, in the 13th chapter to the Romans ; where he sets forth clearly, that civil states and powers are of God, and that their end is, to be "a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well." Since, then, the kingdom of Christ is not of this world ; neither is it national, but spiritual : And it cannot be supposed that any one nation will ever be the Church of Christ, which is not national, and so subjected to the violence of any other nation : But God, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice," having ordained government and rule, intrusts it with whom he pleases ; and the temporal sword, as well of civil magistracy as military force, being in the hands of kings and rulers, to exercise it as need shall be, they, and not the disciples of Christ, must apply and administer accordingly, till, by degrees, the kingdom of Christ, the Prince of divine peace, have the ascendant over all kingdoms : Not by violence, for his servants can offer none : "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." It will not be by human force or policy, but by conviction ; not by violence, but consent, that "the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ." Nor will the kingdoms and powers in this world ever cease (being God's ordinance in natural and civil affairs), till the reason of them cease ; that is, till all violence and injustice cease, and evil doing come to an end, by the advancement of truth, righteousness, love, and peace over all nations ; which is the true end of the coming of the Lord Jesus, and nature of his kingdom here on earth : So that as the kingdom of Christ can offer no other violence to the kingdoms or states of men than that of love and truth, and his subjects may not fight, but pay taxes, customs, tribute, fear and honor to all kings, powers, and states, in all nations where they are chosen of God out of the world to serve him, and bear testimony to his name ; neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, Mahometan, infidel, or

nominal Christian, can have any reasonable jealousy of the true Christian, whose practice is according to the doctrine and commandments of his Lord and Master, Christ Jesus : and whosoever falls short of that ceases to be his disciple, and reverts to the world : But to his disciples he saith, "Ye are not of the world, but God hath chosen you out of the world. If ye were of the world, the world would love you ; for the world loveth its own : But ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you ; But marvel not that the world hateth you, for it hated me before it hated you." So that upon the whole, this nation is not in danger of the Spaniard, or of any other nation, by reason of our principle, or for want of our help in fighting ; which we have not declined, because we durst not, or could not use the weapons of war ; for many of us have been fighters ; and I myself have worn a sword, and knew very well how to use it : but being convinced of the evil, by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, working in us a conformity to the will of God, and subjecting us to himself, as subjects of his peaceable kingdom, 'tis neither cowardice in ourselves, or rebellion, or disloyalty to kings or rulers, whom God, in the course of his providence, advances in nations, but conscience towards God, and obedience to his dear Son, the Prince of Peace, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which make us decline fighting.

To this effect, and much in the same words, was my answer to the earl ; who heard me with great patience and candor, and then replied, "Tis true," said he, "so long as you behave peaceably, are loyal to the government, and pay your taxes, as you do, I think, when all's done, there is not an absolute necessity for your personal service in war, since his majesty may always have soldiers enough for money, as he may have occasion."

True, said I, and there are but few, in comparison of the whole body of the people, that serve personally in war ; and without all doubt, volunteers, of all others, are fittest for that service ; where no man jeopard's his life but by his own consent, choice, and inclination, and has no man to blame but himself in the consequences of it, with respect either to body

or soul, since both may be in hazard, as men may be stated in such undertakings.

Some time being spent in what I have here related, and things seeming to sit well on this great man's mind, I was willing to withdraw; and then rising upon my feet, I said further unto him, considering thy station and resort, we may trespass, though undesigned, on thy time, which may be necessarily employed on public services; but if I might have liberty to wait on thee at leisure times, I do not doubt but to make all these points we have gone upon, and all others wherein we differ from other professors of Christianity, as clear as the sun at noon-day, in favor of our profession; and that the same thing which now goes under the reproachful name of Quakerism and error, is no other than primitive and improved Christianity.

To which he replied, "I shall be glad to see you at any convenient time. My hour is about nine or ten in the morning; and if I should happen to be indisposed, or otherwise engaged, I will let you know it, and expect you another time;" which accepting as a favor, I proceeded thus:

I took notice of what thou said, in this discourse, concerning our preaching and writings, that they seemed both awkward and unintelligible: I suppose thou mayest remember something of one James Wilson who has waited on thee sometimes to solicit thy assistance for relief of several of our Friends. "This is," said he, "Wilson of Westmoreland, an honest, good man." 'Tis the same, said I. Thou was pleased to admit him to some discourse with thee on some points of religion on some of those occasions; and he then promised to send thee a book, which would clear up some of those matters, more than could then be done by him; and he hath accordingly requested me to present thee with it: and so I gave it him, being one of Robert Barclay's Apologies, and said, If thou pleases to, read this book over with attention, I hope it will give thee some more satisfaction, both concerning the principles we believe and suffer for, ourselves, and our writings. He readily received the book, and said, "I will peruse it."

Then, in a moving posture, I said further, It is below the Earl of Carlisle to be flattered, and inconsistent with me to do it; but this I can say with much freedom, I have often remembered thee and thine, with many good wishes, when far remote in another part of the world; and since I returned to Europe, have from time to time desired to see thee; but the circumstances of my concerns would not allow me till now. I am glad of this opportunity, and thy condescension herein, and may make use of the liberty given me, in some other convenient time; and, in the mean time, wish thy happiness and prosperity. And so we departed with great satisfaction.

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD LONSDALE.

1725.

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

DURING the time of my abode in this country, having some concerns with the Lord Lonsdale, I went to Lowthor Hall, where he then resided, to attend him therein; where he gave me more respect than I desired or expected; and, after I had finished my business with him, after supper, he moved some discourse concerning some points of religion, there being none else in the company but Counsellor Blencoe, a young lawyer. The point chiefly discussed, was the knowledge of God, and by what means mankind may arrive at it; in which I was drawn out to this purpose, That many wise and ingenious men apply themselves, with success; to the knowledge of things in this life, and relating thereto, and yet keep not within the strict rules of virtue; whereby their knowledge vanishes in the end, as not subservient to the purposes of another world: wherefore I recommended them to a real inquiry after the knowledge of God, as the most noble and most profitable subject a rational being could be concerned about, and altogether necessary in order to our happiness, as well in this as in a future state; which man can never arrive at by the utmost efforts of human reason: for though a rational being cannot deny, but conclude there is a God, by the works of the creation, which produced not themselves, but were produced by another; and though reason must conclude the Creator to be eternal, without beginning or end, all-wise, all-knowing, all-powerful, omnipresent, holy, righteous, just, and good, in all divine perfections unchangeable, &c., and though in all these

attributes we read of him in the Holy Scriptures, and hear clear discourses of him frequently made by such as say they know him, and, perhaps, in some measure, may; yet all this is but an image of knowledge, as to us, until, by the agency of his own power and will, he is pleased to work in us such qualifications as whereby we may perceive him, and say "this is he," through that holy and blessed medium, which he himself hath, in good will to mankind, provided to that end; that we may believe in him, hope for him, know him, have communion with him in a degree in this life, and be for ever blessed in the enjoyment of him in a future condition: Of which knowledge no man can rightly conceive, by anything another can say who hath that knowledge, unless he to whom it is said or declared, be in himself, in some degree, under the same qualifications, by which the things declared or spoken of, present in the mind and understanding, by a kind of divine sensation or intuition, are self-evidencing by their own nature and energy: As for example, to a man born blind, another can find no terms whereby to give him a proper and distinct idea of colors, of light, and the manner of the discovery of objects by that medium unto those that see; whereas every one that doth, concludes the same thing by a kind of sensitive intuition, at first view, without the expense of ratiocination, or deducing conclusions from stated premises: Nor, if we can suppose any one has never in his life been touched with any sense of that natural affection, or principle, we call love, can any, by any terms he can use, inculcate in such a person any idea of the thing? Whereas all the experienced are affected in the same manner, though, perhaps, not to the same degree, and need no other terms but itself to inculcate the thing. Since, then, in natural things, 'tis impossible to exhibit proper ideas to the apprehensions of those who are deprived of natural qualifications and capacities to receive them; how much more so in spirituals, which cannot find out proper terms by which to exhibit them to the view, understanding, or apprehension of others; but as we borrow them from natural things, which can never reach them as they are? When it is said, God is a

Spirit, a man must first have a distinct idea of a Spirit, before he can fix any notion of God by that term; and by the word God, we intend to express an awful and ineffable being, but none of these terms exhibit that being to our sense, either in fear or love. I come, then, to some positive expressions of Christ; viz., "No man hath known the Father but the Son, and to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." "No man can come unto me, except the Father, which has sent me, draw him. No man hath seen God at any time, the only begotten (or first begotten) Son of God, who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, he hath manifested (or revealed) him."

By this it appears, 1st. That God may be known; though not immediately, but by a proper medium.

2d. That this medium is Christ the Word of God; who having a reasonable soul, and clothed therewith as a veil, is homogeneous to mankind, and thereby proportions the splendor of his glory, as God, to the state of every soul; gradually revealing or manifesting the Father therein, according to the degrees of purification, capacity, and qualification he worketh in it.

3d. That this knowledge is an experience, and gives the soul a certain evidence and assurance of eternal life; and God himself is that eternal life.

4th. That as the knowledge of the Son makes way for the knowledge of the Father; so the drawings of the Father excite to the knowledge of the Son.

It is not, therefore, the knowledge of the things of God, or of all his attributes, or of any, or all formal truths, but of God himself, who is the essential truth, in which our happiness stands, and for ever shall remain: For there are essential truths, and there are formal truths. Jesus Christ, the wisdom of God, and power of God, is that essential truth; and that he is the Son of God, was incarnate, lived as a man here on earth, was crucified as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, died, rose again, ascended, is glorified in heaven, &c., are all

formal and unalterable truths : and yet the knowledge of all these don't give life eternal, until the soul comes to experience the indwelling of the essential truth, in its nature and being, through that holy and blessed medium, homogeneal unto all ; which cannot be until we be reduced into a state of holiness and purity of mind. And therefore, to illustrate all I have said in a practical way, give me leave to add a little further : Whilst I was yet in a natural and unconverted state, I believed the being of God, and all his attributes, essential and adopted ; but I did not actually know God to be righteous or holy, till he reprov'd unrighteousness or unholiness in me ; or merciful and good, until, through condemnation of evil, convincing me of evil in myself, he also pardoned the acts of sin, and destroyed the effects thereof, by the agency of his own power, working that change that is meet, according to his own will, through which I experience both his goodness and mercy : nor had I known him as a consuming fire, unless, by the refining operation of his Spirit, he had consumed my corruptions, or begun that work ; or that he is love, divine and unspeakable love, unless, by his own power, he had fitted me, in some measure, to enjoy the influences of his grace in a state of holiness ; in which he rules as a monarch in the soul, according to that saying, The kingdom of Heaven stands not in meats and drinks (no outward or natural enjoyments) ; but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost : which I know, through grace, infinitely transcends, even in this life, all that can be named besides.

And though formal truths are commonly clouded and confounded by the perverse and ignorant reasonings of the learned of this world, and numerous opinions and sects are produced and engendered thereby ; yet the essential truth is self-evidencing ; and whenever it appears in the soul, she cannot deny or doubt, but by the cogency of his power and virtue, certainly and infallibly conclude in herself, that this is he ; for as there is no way or medium, by which we discover or perceive the body of the sun in the firmament of heaven outward, but by the light which proceeds from it ; so there is not any medium by

which we can know God, but by his own light and Truth, which is Jesus Christ, the efflux and emanation of his own glory and being, and through that holy and homogeneal mind wherewith he is veiled.

And as the light of the sun carries along with it the power and virtue of the sun wherever it shineth in its own unclouded rays, and by its influence nourishes and makes fertile the animal and vegetable worlds; even so, and much more also, doth the heavenly Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, the essential Truth and light of the rational and intellectual world, arise, make known, and manifest himself in the soul; into whom, by the rays of his divine light, he introduceth and dispenseth the influence of all divine heavenly virtue: into them, I mean, who believe and obey in the day of small things; according to that doctrine of an experienced holy man, "Whatsoever things are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever makes manifest, is light:" and again; according to that saying of the Truth himself: "I am the light of the world, whosoever followeth me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life:" We must therefore begin at the word of reproof, in order to the sure knowledge of God, and enjoyment of him, as he is love, and an ocean of unspeakable pleasure; and renounce the low and sordid pleasures of the animal life, which unqualify for divine enjoyments here and hereafter: But love God, love his judgments and reproofs in your hearts; which are all in love, in order to the manifestation of himself, according to that saying, "Every son whom I love, I rebuke and chasten, saith the Lord." And I can assure you, if you can believe me, that as I have tasted of the pleasures of this world, and through the goodness of God, known condemnation therein; so, through his great mercy, I am favored of him with this certain experience in some measure; that the enjoyment of God in a state of reconciliation, is undeclarably more excellent and eligible than all other things; to the experience whereof I would recommend and excite you. This being the substance of what then passed among us, the Lord Lonsdale, being a very ingenious person, of strong natural

parts and penetration, asked me, "Since you had, before you came to the knowledge of God, in the way you have spoken of, believed the being of God, and all his attributes, did that knowledge make any alteration in your way of thinking on that subject, or give you any contrary sentiments that way?"

I replied, No; for as reason, a constituent property of man, is still the same, and things causeable thereto, or thereby, as its proper objects the same also, so the knowledge of God makes no alteration there: The major contains the minor; the whole is greater than a part; one and two make three, and ever have done, and ever will in the view of reason, though that, of itself, can never give the saving and experimental knowledge of the Almighty, as I have before observed.

Then he was pleased to say, "Some things you have hinted at are new to me, which I have never read of in any book, or heard before."

By the time all this was finished, and some intervening questions and objections answered, it was about one in the morning, and then we went to rest, and the next day, after dinner, I departed thence in peace.

CHAPTER XLIII.

LORD LONSDALE.

1725.

TITHES AND MAINTENANCE.

SINCE that time, upon another like occasion, I had some farther discourse with the same Lord Lonsdale, upon another subject, viz., that of tithes and maintenance.

He was pleased to allege, though perhaps not seriously, "That kings, and great men, being possessed of countries, and large quantities of land, gave the tenths to the support of ministers; and the same laws which gave nine parts to the laity, gave the tenth to the clergy."

To this I replied, that the law gives no property, but protects the possessor in it against violence. And then I deduced property from its original, thus: The first property a man hath is his person, life, and liberty; and as these are from God, and the right of all men, so he has provided means for the support of them, unto all. The means of the support of person and life, is food and raiment, arising either naturally from the fruits of the earth, spontaneously growing, animal creatures, or by the personal labor or industry of man.

Cain, 'tis said, was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep. When Cain had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground, and propagated useful things thereon, that and those became the property of Cain by his personal labor; in which the law of natural reason will protect him against anything but personal violence: and Abel, taking under his care and management some of the creatures he found most proper for his use and purpose, they became his property, by his care, labor, and pains, in which also he was protected by the same law:

and all just laws are no other than right reason, declared by way of compact upon that principle of reason constituent of our being : But when the earth was filled with violence, God, by the element of water, destroyed the world, save Noah and his family ; by whom he replenished it.

In process of time, “ Nimrod became a mighty hunter before the Lord ;” that is, his hunting was of that nature and tendency, as that God took notice of him therein : for he with his company, first hunting wild beasts, became wild also themselves, and then hunted after the liberties and properties of other men, invading them by force and numbers ; till the rest of mankind, in their own just defence, entered into reasonable compacts against unreasonable invasions, repelling an unjust violence, by a just and equitable force or power.

Having essayed to fix a proper idea of the rise of property, I next observe how men may forfeit it, in all these respects, in the sight of God ; and that is, by extreme wickedness ; as may be instanced in a malefactor, who, by his evil deeds, forfeits his life, liberty, or property, or all : but then no private person can take cognisance of such offences, incurring such forfeitures, other than to bear witness against the offender, in order to conviction and adequate punishment before a proper stated judicature, of which no nation is destitute, though varying in circumstances. Since then, property in lands, &c., cannot be justly taken away from any one (not forfeiting) without consent, what is that consent necessary to that end ? It must be either in a public or private capacity : private, as by his own particular act to give such lands to such a minister or priest, on condition of certain services, or saying so many masses or prayers, either for the living or the dead, or the like ; or for the service of religion in general, according to the notion the donor had of it : or public, as where the legislature of any country, for politic views and interests, make laws for the alienating of the property of the subjects, with or without their private or particular consent ; where, though property is truly invaded, yet the major directing the minor, the compulsion to obedience is held lawful and just, whatever it may be in the

nature of the thing; and particulars sit under the burden where they have no redress: But all this binds not the conscience, though property is forced.

All which I apply as followeth: This nation was once free from all tithes, and other impositions of that set of men, enslaving the world on pretence of the liberty of the Gospel, till antichristian priestcraft, more subtle than that of the heathen, so far seduced the minds of weak and ignorant men, prone to superstition and idolatry, that they often gave away to the priests even their whole substance, at least on their dying beds, for pretended chimerical services, merely imaginary; for praying the departed souls of themselves, or friends, out of a supposititious purgatory, with such and such masses, on such and such days, which so far prevailed in this nation, that the legislature, fearing the whole lands would, in time, fall into the hands of the priests, made a law, called the "Statute of Mortmain," as a means to prevent it: which, in some degree, answered the end, and clogged their proceedings: But I do not remember I have seen any law, by the legislature of this kingdom, for imposing of tithes, or so much as for the recovery of them, or anything to the priests under the notion of dues, until the reign of King Henry VIII., when men's eyes began to be so far opened, that many throughout the nation refused to pay them, as may appear by the preamble of the statutes for that end made in his reign; which establishes the customs on foot in favor of the priests (and, no doubt, originally of their own beginning and imposing) for forty years before: which statutes being defective, they were corroborated by the second statute of Edward VI., still in force: By all which it appears, that this set of men never came fairly and equitably to the large and unreasonable share they demand, and receive out of the property of others: especially of those who do not, nay cannot, receive them and their pretended services, as Gospel ministers, and means of salvation; since the Author of religion himself hath commanded his ministers, that as "freely they have received they shall freely give."

The laws of the land therefore, upon the whole, though they bind the property by a sort of national violence, yet they can never bind the conscience: for which, and the Lord of conscience, we suffer with patience, as witnesses on earth for him who reigneth in heaven; until, in the course of his providence, he appears for our relief, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and doth what he will in and with the kingdoms of men.

My noble antagonist replied, and not without a little pleasantness, that he would not yet yield me the argument; though he was pleased to propose another subject, of a different tenor.

CHAPTER XLIV.

EARL OF CARLISLE.

1726.

TROUBLES AND TEMPTATIONS.

ON the 11th I made a visit to the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard, about three miles from Malton. He was confined to his chamber in a fit of gout, but sending up my name, he readily admitted me, and expressed some satisfaction to see me; and being set down, after a little pause of silence, he moved a discourse to this purpose: That as mankind are incident to many troubles and temptations in life, he observed a great difference between the trouble of mind which ariseth from losses and disappointments in the things of the world, and that which proceeds from a sense of the misconduct of life, in a course inconsistent with duty to God and his known laws; and in the first instanced a man's hazarding his all, in one bottom, at sea, and suffering shipwreck.

This great truth I confirmed in the words of Solomon, "The spirit of a man may bear his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?" Magnanimous persons may sustain for a long time the shocks of bodily ailments, as likewise of losses and disappointments in life: but when, by our rebellion and disobedience to that holy law of life and grace (which God in mercy hath placed in us, for our guide and conductor, with respect to himself, and towards one another), we wound not only our own consciences, but crucify to ourselves the Son of God afresh, and wound his Holy Spirit in us, our anxiety must needs be incomparably greater in this case than the former. Yet such is the unspeakable goodness of God to mankind, and the efficacy of the virtue of that grace that flows

from him, that he does not only show us our transgressions, and the evil of them; nor only the wounds and gangrene sores thereby produced; but, as we are truly humbled in that view, and willing to amend for time to come, he, most kind and beneficent, sends forth his healing and restoring virtue, as emollient ointment, taking away the anguish, and healing all our wounds.

This introduced a large field of discourse on such and the like subjects, which held near three hours; and I believe to mutual satisfaction, and much upon the particular points following, viz. :

1. Faith in Christ, as come in the flesh, being the Word, power, and wisdom of God, assuming our nature, in a person separate from all men, as all others are. 2. Faith in him as a quickening Spirit, and divine light, flowing from the Father into our minds, affecting and influencing both body and mind at certain times and modes, and degrees, as pleaseth him; being as a condemning law in us whilst we are in a state of unbelief, sin, and rebellion; but a law of divine and immortal life, and true comforter in a penitent and faithful state; to which he himself reduceth us by his judgments and by his mercy, inwardly revealed and applied: by the ministration of judgment, wasting, as with divine fire and sword, the whole body of the sins of the flesh and carnal mind; and at the same time, in and by the same Spirit, manifesting and applying mercy and life eternal to the believing, humble, and penitent soul; and so completing that salvation declared by the coming of Jesus Christ, his death and sufferings.

The kingdom of Christ in this world, ruling and reigning in the minds of regenerate men, by his grace and Spirit, as King of Salem, Prince of Righteousness and peace, in all them that believe and obey; who are the children of this kingdom in divine communion. The kingdoms of men, established by the providence of God for the government of the world in its natural state, for the preservation of life, liberty, character, property; the better sort of men, in a moral social state, being children of this kingdom.

3. The kingdom of Antichrist, being a false show, counterfeit, and pretence of Christianity, under which all cruelties and oppressions are, and have been acted to the destruction of life, limb, liberty, property, and religion : And the children of this kingdom are priests, professing Christ, but living to themselves ; being called by hopes of honor, power, and advantages in this world, and not of the Lord : And the great men and small of this world confederating with them in worldly views, against the natural and common interests of the rest of mankind, enslaving the conscience by force of human laws of their own devising, according to that observation of Christ to his disciples, " Do not great men haul you out of the synagogues before the judgment seats ?" and the like ; in all which they are influenced (and often out of their own sight) by a devouring, destroying spirit, contrary to the nature of Christ ; who is a mild, innocent, and saving power, most gentle, wise, and beneficent, bringing forth in men his own fruits, and making them like unto himself ; as Antichrist renders all his children like unto him, proud, lofty, angry, fierce, cruel and unjust, blood-thirsty, arbitrary, and tyrannical, without compassion and mercy, implacable and unreasonable ; as is ever seen in all persecutors, whether under the pretence and umbrage of national laws, or despotic and absolute domination and rule. With some other important matters, not now to be fully collected.

CHAPTER XLV.

EARL OF CARLISLE.

1731.

CEREMONIES OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

ON the 5th, I called at Castle Howard, and dined with the Earl of Carlisle and his family; the Lord Cornbury being likewise there. About the conclusion of our dinner, the earl, in a frank manner, moved some discourse about the ceremonies of the National Church, and asked me if we would join with them, in case they would lay aside the surplice, and sign of the cross in baptism?

I answered, Lay these things aside, and then we will confer with you about the rest.

Then said the earl, "These things are no way essential to religion, and may well be spared; and we have no foundation in Scripture for them, and some other things we use."

Then said his chaplain, "Things innocent in their own nature may be enjoined by the Church and the legislature; and thence arises a duty to obedience."

The earl replied, "That whatever is invented and imposed by man, in matters of religion, more than what was ordained by Christ, and taught by him and his apostles, is vicious, and ought not to be regarded;" (O noble confession!) and dismissed his chaplain with a frown, whilst I was asking him this question, When and where did the Lord Jesus ever give power to any temporal prince or state to add, alter, or diminish, the religion he himself established on the earth? Is not he all-sufficient in himself for that, without the direction, con-

currence, or aid of any other power, since all power in heaven and earth is given unto him?

The chaplain departing the room, muttering, I requested liberty of the earl for a few words further, that since he had been pleased to mention their baptism, and object to an incident of it, as now used by them, I hoped it would not be ill resented, if I endeavored to inform him how we understood the Christian baptism; and having his countenance therein, I proceeded, That John the Baptist, being moved by the Word, or Spirit of God, to call the Jews to repentance, and to baptize, or wash in water, so many as believed his doctrine, and went to him to that end, he foretold them of another to come after him, much more worthy, and to be preferred, who should baptize them with a more excellent, powerful, and efficacious baptism; that is to say, the Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost and fire.

That John did not baptize in any particular name, but directed his disciples to believe in one who was to come after him, who himself did not know when he first began to preach and baptize; but John having a sign from heaven concerning Christ, believed in him, and directed all to follow him: And as repentance was, at that time, the necessary doctrine to the Jews, Christ himself preached repentance, and likewise his disciples; and his disciples also baptized with water as John did, and at the same time, but with this difference, that John baptized not in any name, but the disciples of Christ, most probably, in the name of the Lord Jesus, whom they had rightly believed to be the true Messiah, and in whose name alone, after he was declared to be the sent of God, all the water baptism we ever find in Scripture to be administered, was performed, and never in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

That after the resurrection of Christ, and before his ascension, he introduced his baptism, as it was most excellent in itself, so with greater dignity and glory, saying, "All power in heaven and in earth is given unto me; repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name unto all nations,

beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, in Judea, in Samaria, in all the regions round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth: Go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Go into all the earth, and preach the Gospel unto every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be damned: And, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.”

But notwithstanding this narrative and commandment from the mouth of him who hath all power in heaven and earth, he knew that his disciples could not of themselves, nor by this commandment only, baptize with this baptism (though they had by his command, or countenance, baptized with water), without the actual and present power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one dispensation; and therefore he added, at the same time, this further command and restriction, “But tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye have received power from on high:” and then he informs them what power that was, “You shall have power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.” And lest they should mistake, and think he was instituting another water baptism, he contradistinguishes this his baptism from water baptism, saying, “John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.” So that it is evident according to the testimony of holy writ, that this institution was not any water baptism, nor any water concerned in it, but distinguished from it; but is the same by John ascribed to Christ, and is the baptism of the Spirit only. And this we own, and this only, to be the baptism in the Church of Christ, initial by its powerful effects, into the Church, which is his body, the ground and pillar of truth, “the fulness of him who filleth all in all.”

To this neither of these two lords made any reply; but, after a short pause, entered into some discourse between themselves, concerning the meaning of John the Baptist, when he sent two of his disciples to Christ, to ask whether he was the

Messiah, after he had so fully before owned and declared him to be so. They could not, at first, think the same way about his meaning; one supposing he doubted under the temptation of persecution and imprisonment: But that instance being advanced, where Christ, speaking to the Father, saith, "Holy Father, thou always hearest me; but these things I say in the hearing of these (his disciples), that they may believe that thou hast sent me:" It was then concluded, that the message from John was not for his own sake, or as doubting concerning Christ; but for the sake of his disciples, and others, for their further information and establishment in the faith of Christ: and so the conversation ended.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE EARLS OF CARLISLE AND SUNDERLAND.

1721.

THE AFFIRMATION ACT.

SOME Friends in London, of whom I was one, being in a particular manner concerned in mind, that the king and parliament might be addressed for an Affirmation Act more generally satisfactory, according to the agreement of our yearly meeting on that behalf, I wrote a letter to the Earl of Carlisle (ever a sure friend to our society on all occasions), entreating his advice to which of the ministry we had best make our first application on that account; and he was pleased to send me an answer by one of his servants, wherein he invited me to his house in Dover Street, London, to confer on the subject; and when there, being together in a parlor, his eldest son, the Lord Morpeth, came in, to whom he said, "They (meaning Friends) are an honest, good people, serviceable and helpful in the nation, and true friends to the government, on the principles on which it now stands; but because of some opinions they hold in matters of religion, the laws are against them in divers respects, and particularly in cases of oaths, which they think not lawful for them, as apprehending they are forbid by Christ under the Gospel: Be that as it will, I think they deserve relief, and I have ever contributed as much towards it in all cases as I could; and I know, from the many applications made to me on that account, that they have suffered for not taking the oaths, and do suffer very much in their families and business, by refusing to take an affirmation, intended for their case on that behalf, but does not prove generally consistent with their sentiments in that point: and as

they may have occasion, ere long, to solicit the favor of the House of Commons for further redress (of which the Lord Morpeth was then a member), I expect you will favor them, and use your interest on their account;" which the young lord promised he would.

By which I observed that this great man was willing to transmit his own good-will towards us as a people, to his son and heir apparent, and render it, in a manner, hereditary in his family; for his grandfather had ever been our friend from the beginning, and kept off the stroke of persecution in the worst of times, wherever he had any power, especially in the north of England; where, in those days, he was much conversant.

Upon this occasion the earl informed me, that the Earl of Sunderland, being Secretary of State, in great favor with the king, and sway at court, and friendly to us, was the most proper person to make our first application to in that point, to know the mind of the king (of which we were not altogether ignorant before), and on what we might depend from the rest of the ministry: "But," said he, "the Earl of Sunderland, considering the duty of his office, the great business of it, and assiduous application necessary therein, cannot be spoke with, but at some uncertain times; but, to make it the easier, as he comes sometimes occasionally to my house, I will give you notice of the first opportunity that happens, where you may speak with him more freely than you can among a throng of people constantly attending him at home."

He then advised me to have in readiness a copy of the affirmation as it then stood, and also of the form of words agreed to in our yearly meeting. Some days after this he sent me a letter by a servant, wherein he gave me notice, that the Earl of Sunderland was then at his house, and might be spoke with before he went thence. I went immediately to him; but, when I came there, the low rooms were crowded with people, some with applications to one of these great men, and some to the other; but notifying to the Earl of Carlisle, by one of his servants, that I was come, he came down himself among the

crowd; and taking me by the hand, invited me to an upper room, next to where the Earl of Sunderland was with some persons of distinction, and bid me stay there till he came to me, which he did in a short time, and then introduced me to the Earl of Sunderland; who received me in a very friendly manner. I then made known to him my business, and said, "That though the king, his ministry, and the parliament, had lately intended us a great favor, in perpetuating the Affirmation Act as it then stood, yet it did not answer the end proposed; for a great part of our people could not comply with it, the terms, in their apprehension, importing a difference from the doctrine of Christ." Then I produced the form in the act, and that also which our meeting had agreed to; which, when he had read, he said, "You might have had the latter as soon as the former, if you had applied for it; for what we did in it was with intent to serve you in your own way; and you yourselves soliciting for it, we thought we had fully gratified you; and were informed that but a few of you were dissatisfied with that form, and those a sect among you misled by Mr. Penn, in disloyalty to the government, and in favor of the Pretender, and who did not desire that favor from the present government, hoping for it by another in time; and those who were satisfied with that form were Mr. Mead's friends, and principled for the Revolution, and present government in the House of Hanover; and the one sort called Pennites, and the other Meadites." I replied, This is only a calumny artfully invented to defame our society, and render the mere distressed part of us odious to the king and government, that we might have no relief; and it is a great cruelty and hardship: and I have heard that —— Aistaby (then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a member of the House of Commons) was so far imposed upon by that suggestion, as to report it in the House, when that matter was in debate there, whether the act should be perpetuated or not. I added, that I did not know, or ever heard of any such sect, party, or parties among us, so attached to William Penn or William Mead, or to any other person; for we are not a people subject to be led by sect masters, if any

such should appear among us, but to follow God and Christ only in matters of religion ; and, as such, denying of all oaths we believe to be a part of our duty. I was long and intimately acquainted with William Penn, and knew his sentiments with respect to the government and Pretender ; and though he ever retained a great respect for all that family, I believe he did it in point of gratitude for the protection he had from the Duke of York, afterwards King James, in a time of great persecution, and not from any principle of disloyalty to the present king or his government : but as to those among us who cannot comply with the present form of the affirmation, I know they are generally as loyal to King George, and true to his government, as any of his subjects in all his dominions ; for I have lately been among them in a general way. And the Earl of Carlisle himself likewise knows, that many of our Friends, whom he hath relieved by his interest, who had suffered much for non-compliance with the affirmation, were as loyal as any others. Then the Earl of Sunderland, being himself a very good friend of William Penn, spoke respectfully of him, and said, "That gentleman (meaning Aistaby) was not your friend at that time, but you will find him otherwise now : " And then added, with a smile, "He shall be your friend." To which I returned, It is enough ! Then he said, "It is not so easy a matter as you may think, to bring a thing of this nature through both Houses ; yet we can do it, and you need not go to the king about it ; for you are in his favor, and therefore he will not oppose what we (meaning the ministry) may think proper to advise him. And I can tell you more, the greatest part of the bishops will be for you : we have seventeen of them secure already, and there may be more by the time that it may be proper to go upon it. But then," said he, "will this please you if done ? Will you make no further scruple about it ? " To which I replied, If you will be pleased to enact this form or something of like import of no higher nature, I dare venture to say our society will not give you any further trouble about it. And I told him, I do not come at this time by any direction of our society, but only with the privity of a few,

who are of the dissatisfied, to learn the mind of the ministry, and to be instructed what measures to take in this affair; since we are determined not to move, but by their privity and assistance; though both the satisfied and dissatisfied are one in this solicitation: for as the one side hath been willing the other should have their liberty to use it, when they could freely do it, for relief of their families, without any breach of union among us; so the other are willing to join with them in one interest, to solicit for such a form as may be easier to all.

All this being ended, I made him acknowledgments for his favor, and returned with satisfaction and peace, not doubting from thenceforward but that we should succeed.

CHAPTER XLVII.

WILLIAM WAKE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1721.

THE AFFIRMATION ACT.

JOHN FALLOWFIELD, myself, and one more, going to Lambeth, to solicit the concurrence of William Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, with us, in our endeavors with the king and parliament to procure an affirmation (instead of an oath) in terms less exceptionable than that then in force, the bishop gave us a courteous and friendly reception; and when we had told him our business, and exhibited our request, he, in a solemn manner, expressed himself thus: "Because of oaths the land mourns; and it is shocking to observe with what levity and insensibility oaths are administered and taken in this nation! I am for liberty of conscience, where that is truly the case, and could wish there were not any form of words of any higher nature than you now solicit for, to be used in this land in any case whatever; but if we should grant it to you only, I fear the people would resent it, and blame us." To this I answered, "that if he and the clergy would heartily concur in soliciting for the establishment of such a form as we now desired, I did believe our people would readily exert their utmost endeavors that way."

Then said the bishop, "Put the case, that any controversy should arise between any of the clergy and any of your people concerning what we call our dues, do not you think it were reasonable that we and our evidences should be admitted in the controversy to the same form of words as you?"

John Fallowfield answered, "That he thought that could not be reasonable, unless they had the same way of thinking

as we, and did believe themselves under the same obligation to speak truth in evidence without an oath, as with one, as we do; for lying and false witness are breaches of the commands of God, and mortal sins as well as perjury. And if your people, or such of them as might be called to witness, should happen to think otherwise, or that they were not so strictly tied up by such a form of words as by an oath, they might equivocate, or venture to falsify; so that we could not have equal security." The bishop very moderately took this answer, and made no reply.

Then I took the occasion to say to the bishop, that notwithstanding the lenity of the government, and the provision the legislature had made, for the more easy and less destructive way of recovery of what the clergy called their dues; yet many of the inferior sort still continued to take the most chargeable and ruinous methods, in the Courts of Exchequer and Chancery; whereby many families were greatly distressed and reduced, if not ruined: which did not only greatly oppress our friends, but fixed an ill character and odium upon the clergy themselves in general: for there is not a man so poor, if he is honest and a good man, but that he is loved and respected by his neighbors; and when such are oppressed by any of the clergy (though by a law), mankind, who observe it, are not always so just as to place the odium upon the single and immediate oppressor, but rather apply it to the whole body, and say, See here the clergy, who pretend to teach religion, how uncharitable, how covetous, how cruel they are: here is a poor honest man and his family ruined for a trifle. Now, considering the station and authority thou bears in the National Church, if thou would be pleased to advise them to greater moderation, it might be helpful to many, and prevent the odium which really militates against themselves, as well as oppresses us.

The bishop, being a mild-tempered man, did not at all take this freedom amiss, but replied, "That he had not that authority over the inferior clergy that we might think; for," said he, "they have the law on their side, and they know it, and their

highest regard is to their own interest; and you have more authority among your people, by your excommunications in your monthly and quarterly meetings, &c., than I have in the Church, by all the laws of the nation, ecclesiastical and civil. I call it excommunication; you will not take that word amiss, that is our way of expressing it."

I answered, That we did not take any exceptions at the word; it was very significant, and expressive of the thing; only we think excommunication ought not to reach so far as they extended it; it should not extend to men's liberty, property, or persons. What we mean by excommunication is this: When any one among us goes into any immoral practices or acts, and after due admonition persists in anything contrary to the Christian faith and religion (as we understand it), we deny such an one Christian communion, or to be a member of our society, until he repent, and, by better conduct, give ample proof of his reformation and sincerity. And when such a delinquent is become a true penitent, and desires to be reconciled to the body, we apprehend it is as much the duty of the society to receive him when so stated, as before to bear witness against him, and deny (or excommunicate) him. The bishop made no reply to this; but only said, "It is immoral in any one, of any society, to break or reject the rules and orders of the society he belongs to, or makes profession with; I say such persons are immoral, and are not fit for any communion."

Speaking of the maintenance of the clergy, and their insisting on the law only for it, he said, "As to the right of our maintenance as ministers, whether of Divine right or by the laws only, we are divided in our sentiments on that point. There are about fourteen thousand of the clergy in this nation (as I remember he said), and I do not know on which side of the question the majority may be: But for my own part, for me to think I have this house (lifting up his hand towards the ceiling), or my bishopric by Divine right, there is nothing in it; only, as these are advantages annexed to an office by the laws of the land, which office I enjoy by the favor of the

prince, so I receive and hold it, and no otherwise." This I deemed a frank and honest confession, and could not but respect him for it.

Again, upon my mentioning the severity and envy of some of the inferior clergy against us, he granted, "That these things brought an odium upon themselves, and wrought against them; and added, that he was against persecution in any degree or form; and that if he was incumbent in any parish, he would never sue any of our friends for his dues." And then related to us the following passage: "That a clergyman of his acquaintance having a presentation offered him to a church in London, a friend of his would have dissuaded him from accepting it, because (said he) there are many Quakers in the parish, and you must either lose a great part of your dues, or be perpetually at law and trouble about them, which is not agreeable to your temper and quietude. But (said the bishop), the gentleman replied, that notwithstanding the number of Quakers in the parish, I will accept it, and accordingly did; and being gentle and neighborly among them, and never suing any of them, they took it so well that they generally made up his dues some other way, and they lived very peaceably together."

To this I replied, that it being matter of conscience in all of us that are true to our principles, we could not justify any of our Friends in taking any by-ways, or equivocal methods to elude our profession in that case; for whatsoever any man professeth as any part or incident of the Christian religion, he ought to be sincere therein; and it were more manly and Christian to act openly as one is inwardly persuaded, than to profess one thing openly, and act another contrary in secret: for that is hypocrisy, and we would not have one such among us.

Then I related to the bishop how far we think any society of Christians may and ought to contribute to the necessary charge of a Gospel ministry, and how that matter stands among us at this day. That we believe the true Gospel ministry and Christian religion comes not by tradition, imitation, or

succession, as from the apostles and primitives, but immediately from Christ himself; who, according to his promise, hath ever been with his Church, and ever will be, to the end of the world, as a fountain of life and salvation unto her: that he only hath right and power to call, sanctify, and qualify whomsoever he pleaseth, as ministers and officers in his congregation, or amongst his people; which is of his own seeking, congregationing, baptizing, and saving, by the revelation, operation, and agency of his Holy Spirit. And we observe that now, as in times past, he taketh the weak things of this world whereby to overpower the strong, and foolish whereby to confound the wisdom of the wise, that no flesh may boast before him. And when at any time we are sitting together in silence (as we usually do), waiting upon the Almighty for the influence of his Holy Spirit, that we may be comforted, refreshed, and edified thereby, if any one hath his understanding enlightened thereby into any edifying matter, and moved and enabled to speak, the rest have proper qualifications, by the same Spirit, to discern and judge, both of the soundness of his speech and matter, and also of the spirit and fountain from which his ministry doth arise; and if from the Holy Spirit of Christ, who is Truth, it hath acceptance with the congregation, and though but in a few words, it is comfortable and edifying; for as the palate tasteth meats, so the ear, or discerning faculties of an illuminated, sanctified mind, distinguisheth words, and the fountain from which they spring. And such a person thus appearing, may so appear at another time, and be enlarged in word and in power, and so on gradually, till he hath given proof of his ministry to his friends and brethren, among whom, in the neighborhood, he hath been exercised therein, until he becomes a workman in the Gospel, in some good degree fitted for the service; and then it may so happen, as often it doth, that this person is moved or called by the word of God, to travel in this service in some other places remote from his habitation, which will take him off from his business whereby he maintains himself, his wife and family; and suppose him to be a cobbler of old shoes, a patcher or translator

of old clothes, or the meanest mechanic that can be named, poor, and not able to fit himself with common necessities for his journey, he wanteth a horse (though some only walk), clothing and the like; in such a case the Friends of the meeting to which he belongs provide all such things, and furnish him. And if in that service he is so long from home as that his horse fails, and his clothes wear out, and necessities are wanting unto him, then the Friends where he travels, where his service is acceptable, take care to furnish him till he returns to his family and business. And in the time of his absence from them, some Friend or Friends of the neighborhood visit his family, advise in his business, and charitably promote it till he return. But as to any other temporal advantages, or selfish motive of reward for such service, there is no such thing among us: for if our ministers should have the least view that way, and insisted upon it, or our people were willing to gratify that desire, we should then conclude we were gone off from the true foundation of Christ and his apostles, and become apostates. But though our principles allow such assistance to our ministers as I have related; yet I have not known any instance (save one) of any such help: for by the good providence of God our ministers have generally sufficient of their own to support the charge of their travels in that service, and are unwilling that the Gospel should be chargeable to any; only as their ministry makes way where they come, their company is acceptable to their friends, who afford them to eat and drink and lodge with them for a night or two, more or less, as there may be occasion; which being freely given, and freely received, we think is like unto the primitives, under the immediate conduct of the same Lord, our Saviour and Director.

The bishop heard all these things with patience and candor, not showing the least dislike to any part of what passed among us; and being ended, he said a little pleasantly, "Then you are like Paul and Barnabas, and we are like Silas and Timothy; you travel abroad to propagate the faith of Christ, and we remain at home, taking care of things there." And though

it was on the second day, when usually visited by his clergy, he stayed with us alone till about the middle of the day, and at our departure said, "Gentlemen, let us, in our several stations, endeavor to promote universal love, good-will, and charity amongst mankind; and I pray God bless you and prosper you in your undertakings; for we ought to pray for one another, and desire the best things one for another." And so we departed in peace and satisfaction.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE BISHOP OF YORK.

SIR WILLIAM DAWES, BART.

1721.

THE AFFIRMATION ACT.

GOING to the Bishop of York to solicit his favor and concurrence in the House of Lords, for altering the terms of our solemn Affirmation, as they then stood in the Acts of Parliament relating thereto, being such as the body of our Friends disliked, and could not comply with, the bishop upon that occasion said, "I am for liberty of conscience where that is truly the case: but there is a sort of people in this nation, who dissent from the Church on the pretence of conscience, and yet can occasionally seek for offices and places of profit in the government (meaning the Presbyterians and their other sectaries); I cannot call this conscience, but humor." I replied, I am of the same mind; but that is not our case; for we want no places or offices in the government, but an exemption from such laws as tend to obstruct us in our duty and service to the Almighty, in such manner as we are in truth and sincerity persuaded in our consciences we ought to worship, fear, serve, and obey him, without any view to any other interest.

Then said the bishop, "The words of the affirmation that now is are a solemn oath, and so we (meaning the clergy) always, from the beginning, have understood them." I replied, I know you have: For Dr. Tillotson, when Dean of Paul's, being required to preach a sermon before the judges of the assize at Kingston upon Thames, took his text in these words, "Men verily swear by the greater, and an oath is, to them, an end of all strife;" from which he raised a discourse, intending therein to prove, that oaths in judicature were not only lawful,

but necessary under the Gospel, as well as under the law. In which discourse he defines an oath in these words, or to this effect: "An oath is a solemn appeal to God, as a witness of the truth of what we say." Which sermon being printed before we applied to the legislature for relief against oaths, and the reasoning therein supposed to be strong in support of judicial swearing, that Parliament would not grant us any relief in any other terms but in the words of the doctor's definition of an oath, a little improved. For whereas he saith in his sermon, an oath, which is a solemn appeal to God as a witness of the truth, &c., the parliament added the word Almighty to the word God, setting forth the Supreme Being in his highest attribute as a witness in the most trivial cases occurring among the children of men, whilst a mortal sitteth as judge in the cause. And whereas the particle *a* might denote the Most High as a witness only on the level with other witnesses, the parliament wisely and more reverently changed the particle *a* to the more proper words *the witness*, by way of supereminence, as justly due: For where the God of Truth is witness, there needeth no other; and to suppose there doth, is derogatory to his divine majesty, and blasphemous: of which many of our people were aware, and therefore shunned it, and could not comply; though some others, not so well apprised of the nature of an oath, did use it: But we, as a body of people, never agreed to it; for our yearly meeting, which represents us and our principles in the most collective and general manner, hath always agreed to solicit the government for a more proper form, when it might please God to incline their hearts to so much goodness; and we, hoping this is the time, have proposed the form now before the House. The bishop replied, "That he was not our enemy, but could not stay at that time to see or hear any more on that subject, being under an appointment about some business;" and so we parted.

Some days after this I went to him again, accompanied only by John Irwin: The bishop was alone, and received us very courteously, and we renewed our applications to him on the

same account; and then the bishop was more plain with us, and said "that he could not be for us on that account: for though he did believe that the words of the affirmation, as they then stood, were as solemn an oath as could be invented by the wit of man, he understood our Friends had generally complied with them on every pinching or needful occasion, as he had been informed by persons of unquestionable credit, who had been exercised in the Court of Chancery. He added, that if there were any considerable number of us who conscientiously scrupled the words, it ought to be duly considered by the House, and relief granted; but to alter the laws for a very few, could hardly comport with prudence, since the parliament would greatly incur the censure of the people of the nation if they should do it: And added, that he could not see any reason why such of us as took the affirmation should be exempted from the common oaths of the nation." By which I perceived he and they would have divided us if they could.

To this I replied, that since the bishop himself understood the words in the present act to be a solemn oath, I hoped he could not blame us, since it was matter of conscience (to which he was a professed friend), if sincere to our principles, though but a few, that we made application for a form of a milder nature, in which nothing like an oath was contained. But as to the numbers on either side of the question among us, the petitioners, the proceedings against us in chancery, or any other courts, could not determine; for few, in comparison of the body of our people, are prosecuted there: and as there may be some who comply, as not believing the words in the law to amount to an oath, there are others also who have been prosecuted therein, who have so far scrupled them, as rather to suffer the hard measures of the law than comply with that form.

Then said John Irwin, "The bishop is misinformed in this point; for I live in the north of England, and know that there are very few of our Friends in all these parts who comply with the terms of the present affirmation on any account, but generally suffer the force of the laws, rather than yield to a thing

contrary to conscience: And I have likewise, not long ago, travelled through most parts of the west and south of this nation; and upon a general observation, find that the greatest part of our Friends everywhere are averse to the present affirmation, and decline to use it as much as they can."

This I confirmed by adding, That I also had, for some years past, travelled through most parts of the world where our people are, and observed, that they are generally principled against the form of the present affirmation: and this endeavor for further ease and liberty of conscience in the case, is by consent and direction of our whole body, represented in our yearly meeting here in London, and not by any particular party or side only: So that I hope thy objection (as to a few) is fully answered: And if there were but a few in a nation under that circumstance, charity ought not to be withheld for that reason, since the "eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry."

And as the bishop had asserted, "That the words of the former affirmation were a solemn oath, and wished that all the judicial oaths of the nation were in that form" (and that party seemed to intend it, and thereby elude our testimony against swearing), it gradually drew the question into our discourse, Whether Christ, in his doctrine, had prohibited all swearing; they commonly alleging he only forbid profane swearing in conversation, but not swearing in evidence? I assumed the affirmative, That the Lord Christ hath abolished all oaths out of his Church; and alleged for proof the 5th chapter of Matthew, where he saith, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no case enter the kingdom of Heaven:" And then, in several points, sets forth what their righteousness did amount to; viz., "You have heard it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Here by taking away the cause, which is an unlawful desire in the heart, he prevents the act, and makes it impossible, where there is no conception

of desire ; for there begins the sin. Again, " You have heard it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbor (or friend) and hate thine enemy ; but I say unto you, Love your enemies," &c. Now where the heart is filled with the love of God, in which Christ laid down his life for mankind whilst yet enemies, in which we can have love and compassion even for enemies, the cause of fighting, and destroying one another as enemies, is taken away ; men are reconciled unto God through Christ, and one unto another in him ; and, so abiding, cannot fight or destroy any more ; as it is written, " There shall none hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord." Thus far in parables to introduce and illustrate the point in question, and now home to that, " You have heard it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but perform unto the Lord thine oaths ; but I say unto you, Swear not at all." Here the Lord begins with oaths of the highest nature, used under the law on the most solemn occasions ; which whosoever falsified were perjured : and where there is swearing there may be perjury ; but where there is no swearing, there can be no perjury : where the cause is taken away, the effects will cease : And as he all along advanceth the moralities of the Gospel above that of the law, in all other instances, so in this also : for if he had only forbid profane swearing, he had done no more than Moses had done in the point ; where it is said, " Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ;" which command every one breaks, in a most impious sense, who swears in conversation. The Lord having thus prohibited the once lawful oaths, he proceeds to explain the tendency of their invented oaths, which they used in conversation, and on small occasions, the breach whereof they did not seem to think was perjury : " Neither shalt thou swear by Heaven ; for it is God's throne, and he who sweareth by the throne of God, sweareth by him who sitteth thereon : neither shalt thou swear by the earth ; for it is his footstool:" and, by parity of consequence, he that sweareth by the footstool of God, sweareth by him whose footstool it is. ' Neither shalt thou swear by Jerusalem ; for it is

the city of the great King: Nor by thy head; because thou canst not make one hair white or black:" both which result and terminate the same way; such swear by the Lord, the King of kings, whose name and temple was placed in Jerusalem in the time of the law; and the head, as all the parts of man, being formed of the Lord, to swear thereby is to swear by his Maker. Thus swearing by Heaven, earth, Jerusalem, the altar, the gold thereon, the head, or any creature, every oath is forbidden in conversation, as well as judicial swearing; "but let your conversation" (and communication) "be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil;" of the evil one, which is the Devil. Leave off lying, "and every man speak truth to his neighbor;" and use no higher asseveration in your speech, than redoubling your yea on solemn occasions; as by example of your Lord, verily, verily.

The bishop heard me with patience; and, which gave me some surprise, he made no other reply than this, "Your interpretation of that Scripture is just." Then he said, "I read your books: I have read Barclay: He is no contemptible author; yet I think he might be answered in some points."

I replied, That any ingenious person, reading the works of another, with design to find fault, may find something, especially in a large performance, that he may think amiss, or wrest to such an appearance as he would have it; But every work should be examined with an impartial view, by a mind not prejudiced or prepossessed, comparing one part with another, till the true mind, intent, and meaning of the writer be discovered; and then, if any real error appear, to confute it by obvious truths; which needeth no gloss, or color of sophistry: but when an opponent subtilly and wilfully wrests the words of his antagonist, and imposeth a meaning thereon the author did not intend, this opponent is a forger, combating his own invention, militates against himself, and is *felo de se* in argument.

Upon this the bishop generously acknowledged, "That no man ought to oppose the works of another, till he was fully

master of the author's real sense, and did at least believe it to be wrong or heterodox."

Then I said, That we had met with very hard usage in the House of Lords, and particularly by the Bishop of Rochester (the same that afterwards was banished for treasonable practices); that at the same time when we, as a Christian people, were addressing the legislature of our native country for liberty of conscience, to serve God and our Lord Jesus Christ in the way we judge most acceptable to him, to be branded and accused, in such a place and time, and on such an occasion, as not being Christians, but compared, by him, with Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans! 'tis very uncharitable, to say the least.

The bishop replied, "I do not approve that usage of you; but he explained himself to mean no more than that you are not perfect Christians; that is, in the way we initiate people into religion."

I answered, Then it remains for you to prove, that none can be perfect Christians, unless initiated (at least) by you, or after your manner. It being then near twelve o'clock, the bishop did not think proper to enter upon that subject. And, as he had said in the sequel of this discourse, he had read our books, I asked him, if he had seen one styled *A Treatise of Oaths*, wrote by William Penn? He said "he had not." Then I said, We had abundance of votes collected there, out of the writings of those you call Fathers, on our side, against swearing in any case or way. To which he replied, "That we ought not to depend upon numbers only, but consider the weight also." Granted, said I; but you have neither weight nor number (that ever I have heard of) on your side; for all who wrote on that subject in the Primitive Church, wrote against swearing, and not one in support of it under the Gospel; but that crept in gradually, with other errors, as the Church more and more degenerated into Jewish and antichristian practices in many instances.

Then this good-tempered and affable bishop requested "That if we had any books we valued more than others, I would

oblige him with a sight of them," which I gave him some expectation of; and, at parting, he took me by the hand, as we passed out of the room in which we were into another towards the door, and said, "I desire your prayers for me, as I also pray for you; we ought all to pray one for another." And so we parted in peace and good-will, not the least word of warmth or a scornful look having appeared in all this conference. I made inquiry after such of our books as I thought proper for him; but he going soon after into his diocese of York, and I into Suffolk, and cross the country into the West in the service of Truth, which took about seven months' time, I had no opportunity to see him till I returned to London, and then went to his house in the Strand for that purpose; but he not happening to be within, and my concerns not allowing me another opportunity for some weeks, in the mean time he was taken ill of the distemper whereof he died, so that I did not see him any more: though his death, through the respect I had conceived for his good qualities, affected me with a friendly concern; for he had as much of the gentleman as bishop in him, and the former seemed rather predominant.

CHAPTER XLIX.

DR. BRADFORD, BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

1721.

THE AFFIRMATION ACT.

PETER FEARON, an ancient minister, and John Irwin, aforesaid, being Cumberland men, went to solicit Dr. Bradford, then Bishop of Carlisle, in our favor, concerning the affirmation aforesaid, and altering the terms: on occasion whereof he entered into an argument with them on the point of oaths under the Gospel, asserting, as usual, That Christ did only forbid swearing in communication; but how they managed the point I know not, because not present, and do not remember they related to me the particulars; but as they intended to make him another visit on the same account, they desired my company on that occasion, and provided the Treatise of Oaths aforesaid, as a present to him. And we went to him together, finding none with him but —— Sykes, a moderate clergyman, the same that printed a sermon on these words of Christ, “My kingdom is not of this world,” before Benjamin Hoadley, then Bishop of Bangor, preached his on the same text, which made so much noise among themselves and the nation. The bishop received us mildly and courteously, ordering seats to be set for us near himself; and having heard our application for his favor concerning further ease by a new affirmation, and returned us a moderate and favorable answer, he began again upon the subject of oaths, endeavoring to persuade us to think, that Christ only prohibited oaths in common conversation or communication: in which —— Sykes likewise concurred: but they grounding their opinion only upon the word communication in our English translation, and the other two Friends leaving the matter to me, I answered, That

if Christ did not prohibit all oaths in that doctrine, he did not advance the morality and righteousness of the Gospel above that of the law in that point, as in every other particular there mentioned, he certainly did; and added, that there is not a word in that text, which by any tolerable construction, or by any propriety, can be rendered communication from the Greek original: for the word is *Λογος* (the same used in the 1st of John), signifying word (or speech); which word is truth, signifying that the righteousness of the Gospel, abolishing oaths of all kinds, requires mankind to speak the truth one to another in honesty and sincerity, in all cases, as surely and certainly as they could upon oath. And then desired the bishop to inspect his Greek Testament on that occasion, which he readily did; and returning from his library, confessed that the word there translated communication, was *Λογος* in Greek, and did not offer any further argument upon the subject. Then I gave him the book which the Friends had put into my hands, telling him it was writ on that subject, and desired him to peruse it at his leisure; and so we left him in friendship and peace.

Some time after this being in London, Walter Newbury and I went to the bishop again, to request his favor in the House of Lords concerning the affirmation; and he was come down to his hall, ready to take the air in his coach in the park, but stopped when he saw us come in, and received us kindly, and presently said, "I have read your book, and I will fetch it you." I answered, It was given him as a present, and desired it might be acceptable. He thanked me, and immediately said, "That he believed that Christ and his apostles had forbid all oaths and swearing, and that the time would come when there would not be any such thing in the Christian world;" but added, "That the present state and circumstances of mankind could not bear such an exemption;" and said, "That you will own that some even among yourselves, in whom some immoralities appear, are not fit for the liberty and exemption you request for your people."

I answered, That as mankind come into this world only in

a natural state, our issue are as others in that respect; and where not subject to the example and instructions given them, may, and some of them do, degenerate into immoral practices of some sorts: though our Society takes all practicable care to prevent it, according to the stated rules among us, and by all Christian ways and means. We pray for them, we example them, admonish, advise, exhort, reprove, and rebuke them as need may require; and after all, if any one among us persist in evil, we proceed against such according to the Rules of our Society, finally to deny them as not of our communion; and that is all we do, or think we ought to do, in such cases. And though some particular persons among us may not, in their younger times, come fully up in all things into the perfection of our profession; yet we hope in the main, as a Christian society, we do. And though some among us do fall into things disagreeable to our profession; yet bearing false witness being so great an evil, and so easily discovered, we hope none among us would be guilty of it; but if any should, let the penalty of perjury be fully inflicted upon him: and therefore we are encouraged to make this application. And since thou art pleased to acknowledge thy sentiments that Christ and his apostles by their doctrine have prohibited all oaths and swearing of every kind, there must be a time wherein it must be begun, to be put in practice by some certain person, persons or community. A nation is not born in a day; nor did the Lord Jesus himself call and convert all his disciples at once; it was a gradual work, though in the hand of him by whom the worlds were made. And as the Christian world (so called) hath suffered an exceeding great lapse and degeneracy from the doctrines, morality, sanctity, and practice of Christ and his apostles, and the other early primitives; so in the main they are more antichristians than Christians, and the Almighty, who makes choice of the foolish things of this world, whereby to confound the wisdom of the wise, the weak whereby to overcome the mighty, and even things that are not, to bring to nought things that are ("that no flesh may glory before him"), hath raised up and chosen

us as a people, in and by whom to begin this reformation in religion, in doctrine, and practice; not by human power, for it is against us, nor by the wisdom of this world, of which we have little, or the learning or acquirements thereof, which we do not pursue; but by the same grace through which our Lord Jesus Christ laid down his life upon the cross for the redemption of mankind; wherewith, being mercifully favored of God, and having believed through the operation thereof in our hearts, we have hitherto suffered all things for his name's sake, which hath been permitted to be inflicted upon us by this and other nations, where we have been raised up, or have come: And we hope we have given Christian proof of our sincerity, to the minds of all sober and thinking people, that our religion is not some select notions of certain Gospel truths, but a real and practical thing; wherein we are supported, by the wisdom and power of God alone, as witnesses for him on earth, and to the redemption and salvation brought to pass for us and in us through Jesus Christ our Lord. And since ye profess yourselves to be Christian bishops (for we applied to them all), and we apply to you for relief where our consciences are yet oppressed by laws, and where you, by your offices in the National Church, have a share for the time being, in the legislature, who, under the Almighty alone, can relieve us; if you will not, in your stations, contribute what you may towards that relief, at whose door will the oppression lie?

The bishop heard me with Christian patience, and said, "We (meaning the bishops and former parliament) did not grant the affirmation that now is under any other view, on our part, than as a solemn oath; for so we always understood it, and we thought your people had acquiesced under it: but seeing it does not suit you, I am for liberty for tender consciences, where that is the case. I am your friend herein." Then we returned him our hearty acknowledgments; upon which he took us by the hands, and gave us his good wishes, and we departed in peace and satisfaction. He was, after the banishment of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, before mentioned in my conference with the Bishop of York, translated (as their term is) into the See of Rochester.

CHAPTER L.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

1721.

THE AFFIRMATION ACT.

THE day whereon the act passed, in the morning, along with some others, I waited on the Duke of Somerset, at Northumberland House, by Charing Cross, to solicit his favor; and on that occasion I acquainted him that I had heard, as I came, that both Universities intended to petition against us, as the clergy in and about London had already done; which might give us much more trouble and delay, if not bring our bill in danger; and therefore entreated that he would please to use his interest for the passing it into a law that day. Upon this he said, "Perhaps Oxford may attempt something that way, being influenced by the Bishops of York, Chester, Rochester, and the rest of that sort; but if they should, they are obnoxious, and will not be heard: and as to Cambridge, they have done nothing, and I being their head, they can do nothing without me; and, to make you easy, they shall not do anything against you in this concern." And then he said, "There are a company of fellows, calling themselves the clergy, in and about the city of London, who have sent in a petition; wherein they pretend to blame both houses of parliament for encouraging a sect, which they rank with Jews, Turks, and other infidels; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and receive their dictates, or knew not what we had to do without their directions; and besides, we do not know who they are; for there are above five hundred of the clergy in and about London, and we find only forty-one names to their petition, and these very obscure. Where is their Sher-

lock, their Waterland, or any of note amongst them? Do these fellows see any corn growing in the streets of London, that they should meddle in this case?"

Then I informed the duke, that I had also heard that morning, that many of the petitioners were three-penny curates and unbeneficed.

The duke asked, "What are they?" I replied, That I had been informed they were poor clergymen, without benefices, and had but few friends, and perhaps some of them nonjurors, who hang on about the town, looking for preferment; and, being very indigent, say prayers for the richer sort for three pence a time, which is paid, two pence in farthings, and a dish of coffee.

This first occasioned the duke to smile, and afterward drew from him some warm expressions of resentment, that the poorer sort should live so abjectly, whilst the rich were so high; but most of all, that the rich should set so low a price on the services of their poor brethren, who did the work: And then he added, "We (meaning the legislature) know how to apply a remedy, and relieve them; it is but to take off the pluralities, and make more equal distribution, and then these poor fellows may be better provided for, and live."

Finding the duke in a temper to bear it at that time (for he was a great man, and naturally of a very high spirit, but good sense), I replied, That the pluralities had, for many ages, been complained of as a very unreasonable thing in the Church of Rome, where it first began, long before the time of the reformation of the National Church of England; and I have read a sermon of a good old reformer on that subject, one Bernard Gilpin, who composed it in Edward VI.'s time, with design to have preached it before that prince; but his opponents contrived some means to procure the king's absence at the time, yet the sermon was preached, inveighing heavily against pluralities as a great abuse: Where then can the obstruction lie, that it is not reformed at this day?

To this he made no reply, but said, "I am ready to go to

the House, where I would not have gone this day, but only to serve you."

That day, before noon, the act was passed as now it is; for which we were thankful, first to the Lord for his great goodness, in inclining the heart of the king, and those of both Houses, so much to favor us; and next to them likewise, as instruments in his hand of so good a work, and so great an ease and help to us.

NOTE.—The form of the affirmation allowed by the Act of 1695, was, "I, A. B., do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say."

The form allowed by the Act of 1721, and perpetuated to this day, is, "I, A. B., do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm." *Gough's History of the People called Quakers.*

THE END.





